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TEXTS, DOCUMENTS, AND EXTRACTS

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THE ANCIENT PALM-LEAVES

CONTAINING THE PRA*GÑ*Â-PÂRAMITÂ-H*RI*DAYA-SÛTRA
AND THE USH*N*ÎSHA-VI*G*AYA-DHÂRA*N*Î

EDITED BY

F. MAX MÜLLER AND BUNYIU NANJIO

WITH AN APPENDIX BY

G. BÜHLER

Oxford

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1884

London

HENRY FROWDE

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS WAREHOUSE

AMEN CORNER

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F. MAX MÜLLER, M.A.

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BUNYIU NANJIO, Hon. M.A., Oxon.

PRIEST OF THE EASTERN HONGWAN*Z*I IN JAPAN

WITH AN APPENDIX BY

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AND

THE USH*N*ÎSHA-VI*G*AYA-DHÂRA*N*Î.

CONTENTS.

THE ANCIENT PALM-LEAVES.

I.

In the Introduction to my edition of the text of the Va*g*ra*kkh*edikâ, in the First Part of the First Volume of the Âryan Series of the Anecdota Oxoniensia, I gave a detailed account of the discovery of two ancient palm-leaves, which had been in the possession of the Monastery of Hôriu*z*i ever since the year 609 A. D., and which are therefore, so far as we know at present, the oldest Sanskrit MS. now existing anywhere. I also explained the difficulties which seemed for a time to make it impossible to gain access to these manuscripts. I received indeed, thanks to the kind interest taken in the matter by the late Iwakura Tomomi, the Minister of the Mikado, and by Mr. Satow, the Secretary to the English Legation at Yedo, various facsimiles of these palm-leaves. But as the chief interest of these ancient documents was archæological, inasmuch as they supplied us with the earliest specimen of a Sanskrit alphabet used for literary purposes, I felt that, as in the case of an ancient inscription, nothing would satisfy the demands of Sanskrit scholarship except a perfect photograph of the original.

After considerable delay these photographs have at last come to hand, and I believe that they have been reproduced with so much accuracy that, for all practical purposes, the autotype copies are as good as the originals. The originals have, of course, suffered, partly on the margin, which with palm-leaves is always exposed to damage, partly by the fading of the ink. Fortunately, however, we possess several independent copies, three of which have likewise been reproduced by the photographic and autotype process.

The first, marked No. II, is a photograph of a facsimile, published in the Ashara*g*io, a book which has been fully described in Mr. Bunyiu

A

Nanjio's 'Catalogue of Japanese Books and MSS. in the Bodleian Library,' No. 46.

The second, marked No. III, is a photograph of a facsimile which was executed for me in Japan by order of the late Minister Iwakura Tomomi, and which for some time I thought would be the nearest approach to the original which we were likely to obtain in Europe.

Now that we have the photograph of the original, it will be seen that in several cases the facsimile (No. III), made for me on purpose, is really less accurate than the copy published in the Asharagio. It reads, for instance, चर्या instead of चर्यां, तद्रूप instead of तद्रूपं, अनुत्पन्ना instead of अनुत्पन्नां, मग instead of माग, ज्ञान instead of ज्ञानं, प्रनमनः instead of प्रशमनः, सगते for संगते, etc. These differences may seem of small importance, but they serve to show that, to a well-trained eye, there was more to be seen in the original palm-leaves, at the time when the facsimile was taken, than the copyist was able to discover. We must not forget that the copyist was not a Sanskrit scholar, and therefore did not always know what to look for. This, though for some purposes a useful defect, is a serious impediment in deciphering such a text as the Pra*gñ*â-pâramitâ-h*ri*daya-sûtra and the Ush*n*îsha-vi*g*aya-dhâra*n*î. I am well aware that many letters in the original would have been doubtful or altogether illegible to us, that is, to myself and my fellow-worker, Mr. Bunyiu Nanjio, if we had not known what letters to look for; but we have put down no letters as visible in the original palm-leaves, unless we felt quite certain that the little which was visible of them admitted of no other interpretation but that which we put on it. We know for certain what *Z*iogon read in the ancient palm-leaves, because we have not only his copy, but his transliteration also. In the palm-leaves themselves and in the other copies taken of them, several letters remain doubtful, of course, and scholars will always differ as to their exact value.

The following pages contain the text as still legible on the palm-leaves (No. I), the copy published in the Asharagio (No. II), and the facsimile sent to me by Iwakura Tomomi (No. III). For convenience sake I have added in the first line the text of *Z*iogon's copy, on which see pp. 17–26:—

PRA*GÑ*Â-PÂRAMITÂ-H*RI*DAYA-SÛTRA.

*Z*iogon's Copy: ~ नमस्सर्वज्ञाय आर्यावलोकितेश्वर [1]बोधिसत्वो
I. Palm-leaf: - नमस्सर्वज्ञाय आर्यावलोकितेश्वर बोधिसत्वो
II. Asharagio: ~ नमस्सर्वज्ञाय आर्यावलोकितेश्वर बोधिसत्वो
III. Facsimile: ~ नमस्सर्वज्ञाय आर्यावलोकितेश्वर बोधिसत्वो

गम्भीरं प्रज्ञापारमितायं चर्यां चरमानो व्यावलोकयति स्म पंच
गम्भीरं प्रज्ञापारमिताय[2] चर्यां चर - - व्यव - कयति स्म पंच
गम्भीरं प्रज्ञापारमितायं चर्यां चरपानो व्य - - कयति स्म पंच
गम्भीरं प्रज्ञापारमितायं चर्यां चरपानो व्य - - कयति स्म पंच

स्कन्धास्ताश्च स्वभावशून्यं पश्यति स्म इह शारिपुत्र रूपं शून्यता
स्कन्धा - श्च स्वभा - - - - -॥[3] ति स्म इह शारिपुत्र रूपं शून्यता
स्कन्धा - श्च स्वभावशून्यं प - ति स्म इह शारिपत्र रूपं शून्यता
स्कन्धा - श्च स्वभावशून्यं प - ति स्म इह शारिपत्र रूपं शून्यता

शून्यतैव रूपं रूपान्न पृथक् शून्यता शून्यताया न पृथग्रूपं यद्रूपं
शून्यतैव रूपं रूपान्न पृथक् शून्यता - न्यताया न पृथग्रूपं यद्रूपं
शून्यतैव रूपं रूपान्न पृथ - शून्यता शून्यताया न पृथग्रूपं यद्रूपं
शून्यतैव रूपं रूपान्न पृथ - शून्यता शून्यताया न पृथग्रूपं यद्रूपं

[1] व and ब are not distinguished.
[2] Where the four MSS. differ from each other a small line has been placed beneath the letters.
[3] This marks the ending of the lines in the MS.

सा शून्यता या शून्यता तद्रूपं एवमेव वेदनासंज्ञासंस्कारविज्ञा-
सा शून्यता या शून्यता तद्रूपं एवमेव वेद[2]॥नासंज्ञासंस्कारविज्ञा-
सा शून्यता या शून्यता तद्रूपं एवमेव वेदनासंज्ञासंस्कारविज्ञा-
सा शून्यता या शून्यता तद्रूप एवमेव वेदनासंज्ञासंस्कारविज्ञा-

नानि इह शारिपुत्र सर्वधर्मा शून्यतालक्षणा अनुत्पन्ना युनिरुद्धा
नानि इह शारिपुत्र सर्वधर्मा शून्यतालक्षणा अनुत्पन्ना अनिरुद्धा
नानि इह शारिपत्र सर्वधर्मा शून्यतालक्षणा अनुत्पन्नां युनिरुद्धा
नानि इह शारिपत्र सर्वधर्मा शून्यतालक्षणा अनुत्पन्ना युनिरुद्धा

अमलाविमला नोना न परिपूर्णा तस्माच्छारिपुत्र शून्यतायां
अमलाविमला नोना न परिपूर्णा तस्माच्छारिपुत्र - - -[3]॥या
अमलाविमला नोना न परिपूर्णा तस्माच्छारिपुत्र शून्यतायां
अमलाविमला नोना न परिपूर्णा तस्माच्छारिपुत्र शून्यतायां

न रूपं न वेदना संज्ञा ना संस्कारा न विज्ञानि न चक्षुश्रोत्र-
न रूपं न वेदना संज्ञा न संस्कारा न विज्ञानि न चक्ष[1]श्रोत्र-
न रूपं न वेदना संज्ञा न संस्कारा न विज्ञानि न चक्षश्रोत्र-
न रूपं न वेदना संज्ञा न संस्कारा न विज्ञानि न चक्षश्रोत्र-

घ्राणजिह्वाकायमनोङ्गि न रूपं शब्दगन्धरसस्पष्टव्यधर्मा न
घ्राणजिह्वाकायमनोङ्गि न[2] रूपं शब्दगन्धरसस्प्रष्टव्यधर्मा न
घ्राणजिह्वाकायमनोङ्गि न रूपं शब्दगन्धरसस्प्रष्टव्यधर्मा न
घ्राणजिह्वाकायमनोङ्गि न रूपं शब्दगन्धरसस्प्रष्टव्यधर्मा न

[1] The vowel is slightly visible.

[2] Looks almost like य.

चक्षुर्धातु यावन्न मनोधातु न विद्या नाविद्या न विद्याक्षयो
चक्षुर्धातु यावन्न -[4]॥नोधा- न विद्या नाविद्या न विद्याक्षयो
चक्षुर्धातु यावन्न मनोधातु न विद्या नाविद्या न विद्याक्षयो
चक्षुर्धातु यावन्न मनोधातु न विद्या नाविद्या न विद्याक्षयो

न विद्याक्षयो यावन्न जरामरणं न जरामरणक्षयो न दुःख-
नाविद्याक्षयो यावन्न जरामरणं न जरामरणक्षयो न दुःख-
नाविद्याक्षयो यावन्न जरामरणं न जरामरणक्षयो न दुःख-
नाविद्याक्षयो यावन्न जरामरणं न जरामरणक्षयो न दुःख-

समुदयनिरोधमार्ग न ज्ञानं न प्राप्तित्वं बोधिसत्वस्य प्रज्ञापार-
समुदयनिरोधमार्ग न ज्ञानं न प्राप्तित्वं बोधिसत्वस्य प्रज्ञापार-
समुदयनिरोधमाग न ज्ञानं न प्राप्तित्वं बोधिसत्वस्य प्रज्ञापार-
समुदयनिरोधमग न ज्ञान न प्राप्तित्वं बोधिसत्वस्य प्रज्ञापार-

मितामाशून्या विहरनि चित्तवरणः चित्तावरणनास्तित्वादत्रस्तो
मि[5]॥तामाशृत्य विहरति चित्तवरणः चित्तावरणनास्तित्वादत्रस्तो
मितामाशृत्ये विहरति चित्तवरणः चित्तावरणनास्तितादत्रस्तो
मितामाशृत्य विहरति चित्तवरणः चित्तावरणनास्तितादत्रस्तो

विपद्यसातिक्रान्तः तिष्ठनिर्वाणः त्र्यध्वव्यवस्थित्ता सर्वबुद्धाः
विपर्यासातिक्रान्तः [1]निष्ठनिवाणः त्र्यध्वव्यवस्थिता सर्वबुद्धाः
विपर्यासातिक्रान्तः ति- निर्वाणः त्र्यध्वव्यवस्थिता सर्वबुद्धाः
विपर्यासातिक्रान्तः ति- निर्वाणः त्र्यध्वव्यवस्थिता सर्वबुद्धाः

[1] न can easily be read त.

प्रज्ञापारमितामाशुन्यानुत्तरां सम्यक्संबोधिमभिसंबुद्धा तस्मा
प्रज्ञापारमितामाशुन्यानुत्तरां सम्य - - - - -॥[6]- - - -स्मा
प्रज्ञापारमितामाशुन्यानत्तरा सप्य - बोधिमभि - - - -स्मा
प्रज्ञापारमितामाशुन्यानत्तरा सप्य - बोधिमभि - - - -स्मा

ज्ञातव्यं प्रज्ञाप्रामितामहामंत्रो महाविद्यामंत्रः अनुत्तरमंत्र
ज्ञातव्यं प्रज्ञाप्रामितामहामंत्रो महाविद्यामंत्रः अनुत्तरमंत्र
ज्ञातव्यं प्रज्ञाप्रामितामहामंत्रो महाविद्यामंत्रः अनुत्तरमंत्र
ज्ञातव्यं प्रज्ञाप्रामितामहामंत्रो महाविद्यामंत्रः अनुत्तरमंत्र

असमसममंत्र सर्वदुःखप्रशमनः सत्यममिथ्यत्वात् प्रज्ञापारमि-
अस॥[7][1]--ममंत्र सर्वदुःखप्रशमनः सत्यममिथ्यत्वात् प्रज्ञापारमि-
असमसममंत्र स - - -प्रशमनः सत्यममिथ्यत्वा - प्रज्ञापारमि-
असमसममंत्र स - - -प्रनमनः सत्यममिथ्यत्वा - प्रज्ञापारमि-

तायामुक्तो मंत्रः तद्यथा गते गते पारगते पारसंगते बोधि
तायामुक्तो मंत्रः तद्यथा गत गते पारगते पारसंगते बोधि
तायामक्तो मंत्रः तद्यथा गत गते पार -ते पारसंगते बोधि
तायामक्तो मंत्रः तद्यथा गत गते पार -ते पारसगते बोधि

स्वाहा ॥ प्रज्ञापारमितहृय समप्ता
स्वाहा ॥:॥ प्रज्ञा - - - - - - - - - -॥[1]
स्वाहा ॥:॥ प्रज्ञापारमितहृय शमप्ता
स्वहा ॥:॥ प्रज्ञापारमितहृय शमप्ता

[1] Second Leaf begins.

USHNÎSHA-VIGAYA-DHÂRANÎ.

नमस्त्रैलोक्यप्रतिविसिष्टाय बुद्धाय भगवते तद्यथा ओं
I. नमस्त्रैल - प्रतिविसिष्टाय बुद्धाय भगवते तद्यथा ओं
II. नमस्त्रैल - प्रतिविसिष्टाय - - य -ग -ते -द्यथा ओं
III. नमस्त्रैल - प्रतिविसिष्टाय - - य -ग -ते -द्यथा ओं

विसोधय सम समन्तावभासस्फरणगतिगहनस्वभावशुद्धे अभि-
विसोधय सम समन्तावभासस्फरणगतिगहनस्वभावशुद्धे अभि-
तिसोधय सम समन्तावभास - रणगतिगहनस्वकावशुद्धे अभि-
तिसोधय सम समन्तावभास - रणगतिगहनस्वभावशुद्धे अभि-

षिंचतु मां सुगतवचनामृताभिषेकै हरा हरा आयःसंन्तारणे शोधय
षिंचतु मां सुगतवचनामृ - ि -॥[2]- हरा हरा आयुःसंन्तारणे शोधय
षिंचतु मां सुगतवचनामृताभिषेकै हरा हरा आयःसंन्तारणे शोधय
षिंचतु मां सुगतवचनामृताभिषेकै हरा हरा आयःसंन्तारणे शोधय

शोधय गगनविसुद्धे उष्णीषविजयसुद्धे सहस्ररम्यिसंचोदिते सर्व-
शोधय गगनविसुद्धे उष्णीषविजयसुद्धे सहस्ररस्मिसंचोदिते सर्व-
शोधय गगनविसुद्धे उष्णीषविजयसुद्धे सहस्ररस्मिसंचादित सव-
शोधय गगनविसुद्धे उष्णीषविजयसुद्धे सहस्ररस्मिसंचादिते सव-

तथागताधिष्टानाधिष्ठितमुद्रे वज्रकायसंहतनसुद्धे सर्ववरणविसुद्धे
तथागताधिष्टानाधिष्ठितमुद्रे वज्रकायसंहत -सु -॥[3] स - वरणविसुद्धे
त - गता - ष्टानाधिष्टितमुद्रे वज्रकायसंहतनसुद्धे स - वरणविसुद्धे
त - गत - ष्टानाधिष्टितमुद्रे वज्रकायसंहतनसुद्धे स - वरणविसुद्धे

प्रतिनिवर्तय आयुसुद्धे समयाधिष्टिते मनि मनि तथाता भूत-
प्रतिनिवर्तय आयुसुद्धे समयाधिष्टिते मनि मनि तथाता भूत-
प्रतिनिवर्तय आयुसुद्धे समयाधिष्टिते मनि मनि त ˉ तु ˉत-
प्रतिनिवर्तय आयुसुद्धे समयाधिष्टिते मनि मनि त ˉ तु ˉत-

कोटिपरिसुद्धे विस्फुटबुद्धिशुद्धे जय जय विजय स्मर सर्वबुद्धा-
कोटिपरिसुद्धे विस्फुटबुद्धिसुद्धे जय जय विजय स्मर सर्व ˉ॥[4] द्धा-
ˉ टिपरिसुद्धे वि ˉ टबुद्धि ˉद्धे जय जय विजय स्मर सर्वबुद्धा-
ˉ टिपरिसुद्धे वि ˉ टबुद्धि ˉद्धे जय जय विजय स्मर सर्वबुद्धा-

धिष्ठितसुद्धे वज्रे वज्रगर्भे वज्रं भवतु मम सर्वसत्वानां च काय-
धिष्ठितसुद्धे वज्रे वज्रगर्भे वज्रं भवतु मम सर्वसत्वानां च काय-
धिष्टितसुद्धे ˉ ˉ वज्रग ˉ वज्रं भवतु मम स ˉसत्वानां च काय-
धिष्टितसुद्धे ˉ ˉ वज्रग ˉ वज्रं भवतु मम स ˉसत्वाना च हाय-

विसुद्धे सर्वगतिपरिसुद्धे सर्वतथागतसमास्वासाधिष्टिते बुध्य
विसुद्धे सर्वगतिपरिसुद्धे सर्वतथागतासमास्वासाधिष्टिते बुध्य
वि ˉद्ध सवगतिपरिसुद्धे स ˉ त ˉ गतासमास्वासाधिष्टिते बुध्य
वि ˉद्ध सवगतिपरिसुद्धे स ˉ त ˉ गतासमास्वासाधिष्टिते बुध्य

बुध्य बोधय विबोधय सोधय विसोधय सर्वकर्मवरणानि सम
बुध्य ˉ ˉ ˉ वि ˉ ˉ ˉ ˉ ˉ ˉ॥[5] विसोधय सर्वकर्मवरणानि सम
बुध्य बोधय विबोधय साधय विसोधय स ˉकर्मवरणानि सम
बुध्य बोधय विबोधय साधय विसोधय स ˉकर्मवरणानि सम

समन्तपरिसुद्धे सर्वतथागताधिष्ठानाधिष्टिते स्वाहा ॥ उष्णी-
समन्तपरिसुद्धे सर्वतथागताधिष्ठानाधिष्टिते स्वाहा ॥:॥ उष्णी-
समन्तपरिसुद्धे स ˉ त ˉ गताधिष्ठानाधिष्टिते स्वाहा ॥:॥ उष्णी-
समन्तपरिसुद्धे स ˉ त ˉ गताधिष्ठानाधिष्टिते स्वाहा ॥:॥ उष्णी-

षविजयथारनि समप्ना ॥॥:
षविजयधोरनि[1] समप्न ˉ ˉ ˉ॥[6]
षविजयधोरनि समप्ना ॥॥
षविजयधोरनि समप्ना ॥॥

सिद्धं अ आ इ ई उ ऊ ऋ ॠ ऌ ॡ ए ऐ ओ औ अं अः
सिद्धं अ आ इ ई उ ऊ ऋ ॠ ऌ ॡ ए ऐ ओ औ अं अः
सिद्धं अ आ इ ई उ ऊ ऋ ॠ ऌ ॡ ए ऐ ओ औ अं अः
सिद्धं अ आ इ ई उ ऊ ऋ ॠ ऌ ॡ ए ऐ ओ औ अं अः

क ख ग घ ङ च छ ज झ ञ ट ठ ड ढ ण त थ द ध न प फ
क ख ग घ ङ च छ ज झ ञ ट ठ ड ढ ण ˉ थ ˉ ध न ˉ फ
क ख ग घ ङ च छ ज झ ञ ट ठ ड ढ ण त ˉ ˉ ध न प फ
क ख ग घ ङ च छ ज झ ञ ट ठ ड ढ ण त ˉ ˉ ध न प फ

ब भ म य र ल व श ष स ह ळं क्ष॥
ˉ ˉ म ˉ ˉ ˉ ˉ ˉ ˉ ˉ ˉ ˉ॥[7]॥
व भ म य र ल ˉ श ष स ह ळं क्ष॥
व भ म य र ल ˉ श ष स ह ळं क्ष॥

[1] Or घा.

II.

ZIOGON'S COPY OF THE ANCIENT PALM-LEAVES,

MADE IN 1694.

A most valuable help for restoring the text of the Pragñâ-pâramitâ-hridaya-sûtra and the Ushnîsha-dhâranî, such as it was and could still be read towards the end of the seventeenth century, is found in a copy made by Ziogon in 1694. Of this, too, I had received several facsimiles which I refrained from publishing, hoping in time to receive an accurate photograph. This hope has at last been fulfilled, and in the reproduction of that photograph (No. IV, 1, 2, 3) scholars have now as good a substitute of the original as it is possible to produce. How this copy came to be made may best be stated in Ziogon's own words, as translated by Mr. Bunyiu Nanjio.

ZIOGON'S NOTE.

From the time I was very young, I had my mind bent considerably on the Hidden Doctrine ('Guhya-yâna'). When grown up, I went to see many teachers, and inquired after the depth and fulness (of its meanings). They all said, that unless a learner of the Doctrine of Yoga studied the Sanskrit texts so as to be able to make the form and sound and meaning (of the letters or words) clear, he would not reach the hall and inner apartment (of the Doctrine). Therefore I have searched everywhere, and studied Sanskrit intensely, and in some degree understood the sound and form and meaning (of the letters or words). But on account of a wide difference of customs and habits between India and Japan, the (Sanskrit) letters still remained difficult to be corrected, just as if one were looking at the great ocean, and facing (the sea-god) Ziaku.

余自弱小頗志密乘長參諸師扣問底蘊僉言瑜伽學者自非考索梵文詳形音義不克臻其堂奧於是周訪博探專攻梵學音韻粗曉相義稍通然以西竺東嵎風俗迥阻字源難正望洋向若粵大

Now then in the treasure-house of the monastery of Hô-riu-*z*i in the province of Yamato, there have been kept two palm-leaves, handed down from Central India. They contain the Sanskrit text of the Shin-gio or the (Pra*gñ*â-pâramitâ-) h*ri*daya-sûtra, and of the Butsu-*k*io-son-shio or the Buddhosh*n*îsha-vi*g*aya(-dhâra*n*î), and the Fourteen (sic) Sounds of the Siddha (or alphabet).

In this year (A. D. 1694) I have unexpectedly been able to see them. This opportunity suits my original desire very well, and my joy is immeasurable, so much so that I cannot help dancing with delight. Then wiping my sick eyes and sitting at the bright window, I ventured to consider the right and left sides and the heads and tails of each letter; and I felt pretty sure the letters might be copied out somewhat after the original form. Thereupon I have made a copy without regarding the softness of a hare's hair (of a writing-brush), and then added parallel comments (i. e. transliterations both in Chinese and Japanese, and a translation in Chinese), and pointed out the begin-

和州法隆寺寶庫舊藏中天貝多兩片乃是心經梵言佛頂尊勝及悉曇十四音也今茲不揣得遇覽之甚愜素願歡喜無量抃踊罔措斯則拭病目向明牕强推偏傍尋覓首尾旋得認著少應傚像遂使不揆柔兎卒牘一本更加對註朱點句義以貽后昆殊恨

ning of each word (lit. line, pada) with red[1]; thus I have to leave my copy to future generations. As the power of the writing in the original is strong and firm, like the flying of a dragon and the running of a lion, I have only regretted that my copy should not escape being ridiculed, as when one has drawn a tiger and it only turns out to resemble a dog (i. e. an unsuccessful imitation).

Written by Shaku *Z*iogon, a *S*rama*n*a of the Rei-un monastery in the Eastern capital (then Yedo, now Tokio), on the fourteenth of the tenth lunar month, in the seventh year of the Gen-ro̥ku period (A. D. 1694), the cycle Kô-*z*utsu (*K*iâ-hsü).

原本筆力遒勁龍飛獅奔故未免畫虎類狗之誚旹元祿第七龍集甲戌十月未望東都靈雲沙門釋淨嚴書并跋

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

1. In the Shin-gio or the H*ri*daya-sûtra, whenever there is a doubt about an omission or a wrong letter, I have pointed it out.

2. The text of the Son-shio-dhâra*n*î for the most part agrees with

一心經之中疑有脫誤則點示之

一尊勝陀羅

[1] This red point is replaced by a small asterisk in the following pages.

all the eight Chinese transliterations by Buddhapâla (No. 348, A. D. 676), To Kô-i (Tu Hhiṅ-i, No. 349, A. D. 679), Divâkara—two versions (Nos. 351, 352, A. D. 682)—Gi-*z*io (I-tsiṅ, No. 350, A. D. 710), Mu-i (*S*ubhakarasi*m*ha, A. D. 716–735), Fu-ku (Amoghava*g*ra, A. D. 741–774, of the Thâṅ dynasty, A. D. 618–907), and Hô-ten (Dharma-deva(?), No. 796 or 871, A. D. 973–981) of the Suṅ dynasty of the *K*âo family (A. D. 960–1127); though it is still not certain which transliterator used this text.

3. Among the Mo-ta (i. e. Mâtra or vowels) of the Fourteen Sounds (of Siddha), the four letters of *ri* etc. (*rî*, *li*, *lî*) are added. It shows that these are the Brahma letters of Central India.

Written again by *Z*IOGON.

尼校于佛陀波利杜行顗地婆訶羅二本義淨無畏不空趙宋法天八本悉皆大同小異未詳誰譯本一十四音則麽多之中加紇里等四文知是中天竺梵字也

淨嚴重識

*Z*IOGON'S COPY

OF THE PRA*GÑ*Â-PÂRAMITÂ-H*RI*DAYA-SÛTRA AND THE USH*N*ÎSHA-VI*G*AYA-DHÂRA*N*Î,

MADE IN 1694.

PRA*GÑ*Â-PÂRAMITÂ-H*RI*DAYA-SÛTRA.

LEAF 1.

Shin-gio-bon-hon (i. e. the Sanskrit text of the H*ri*daya-sûtra).

~ is a different form of the letter इ *i*, and it means a root or origin.

Sanskrit Text.	नमस्सर्वज्ञाय	आर्यावलोकितेश्वर
Transliteration.	Namas sarva*gñ*âya	âryâvalokite*s*vara
Chinese Transliteration.	*Na-ma *satsu-baku-*niyaku-ya	*â-riyâ-*baku-rô-ki-tei-*shibaku-ra
Japanese Transliteration.	Nau-ma sara-ba-*z*iya-ya	â-riyaa-ba-rô-ki-tei-shimuba-ra
Translation.	Respect to the all-wise	holy looking on Lord

वोधिसत्वो	गम्भीरं	प्रज्ञापारमितायं
vodhisatvo	gambhîra*m*	pra*gñ*âpâramitâya*m*
*bo-dai-satsu-tanbaku	*ken-bî-ran	*hatsura-niyaku-*hâ-ra-mitsu-tâ-yen
bou-*g*i-satsu (or sa)-toba	gen-bî-ran	hara-*z*iya-hâ-ra-mi-tâ-yen
bodhisattva	deep	pra*gñ*â ('wisdom') other shore arrival

चर्यां	चरमानो	व्यावलोकयति	स्म
*k*aryâ*m*	*k*aramâno	vyâvalokayati	sma
*sha-riyên	*sha-ra-*mâ-nu	hei-*baku-rô-ka-ya-tei	*satsuma
shiya-riyên	shiya-ra-mâ-do	biyaa-ba-rô-kiya-ya-*k*i	sanma
practice	one who practises shining	looked on	

पंचस्कन्धास्ताश्च	स्वभावशून्यं	पस्यति
pa*ñk*askandhâs tâ*s* *k*a	svabhâva*s*ûnya*m*	pasyati
han-sha-*satsuken-dâ-*satsutâ-shitsusha	*satsubaku-bâ-baku-*shû-*k*in	hatsu-sen-tei
han-shiya-soken-dâ-satâ-shitsushiya	soba-bâmu-ba-shiyû-niyen	ha-sen-*k*i
five bundles such like	self-nature all empty	

स्म	इह	शा-
sma	iha	sâ-
*satsuma	i-ka	*shâ-
sanma	i-ka	shiyâ-
	He speaks to	

Leaf 2.

रिपुत्र	रूपं	शून्यता	शून्यतैव	रूपं
riputra	rûpam	sûnyatâ	sûnyataiva	rûpam
ri-fu-tanra	*rô-han	*shû-kin-tâ	*shû-kin-tei-*baku	*ro-han
ri-ho-tara	rô-han	shiyû-niyen-tâ	shiyû-niyen-tei-ba ('yeiba')	ro-han
body-son	colour	empty	empty indeed	colour

रूपान्न	पृथक्[1]	शून्यता	शून्यताया	न
rûpân na	prithak	sûnyatâ	sûnyatâyâ	na
*rô-han *na	hatsuri-datsu	*shû-kin-tâ	*shû-kin-tâ-yâ	*na
rô-han nau	hari-da	shiyû-niyen-tâ	shiyû-niyen-tâ-yâ	nau
colour not	different	empty	empty	not

पृथग्रूपं	यद्रूपं	सा	शून्यता	या
prithag rûpam	yad rûpam	sâ	sûnyatâ	yâ
hatsuri-datsu-*garo-han	ya-*dotsu-han	*sâtsu	shû-kin-tâ	yâ
hari-da-giyaro-han	ya-dotsu (or doro)-han	sâ	shiyû-niyen-tâ	yâ
different colour	colour		indeed empty	

शून्यता	तद्रूपं	एवमेव	वेदना
sûnyatâ	tad rûpam	evam eva	vedanâ
*shû-kin-tâ	*ta-dotsu-han	*yei-baku-mei-batsu	*heki-na-na
shiyû-niyen-tâ	ta-dotsu (or doro)-han	yei-ba-mei-ba	bei-da-nau
empty	indeed colour	thus	perception

संज्ञा	संस्कार	विज्ञा-
sañgñâ	samskâra	vigñâ-
*san-niyaku	*san-sokuka-ra	*bi-niyaku-
san-ziya	san-sokiya-ra	bi-ziya-
thought	action	knowledge also

Leaf 3.

नानि	इह	शारिपुत्र	सर्वधर्मा	शून्यता
nâni	iha	sâriputra	sarvadharmâ	sûnyatâ
nâ-ni	*i-ka	*shâ-ri-fu-tanra	*satsu-baku-*datsu-mâ	*shû-kin-tâ
nâu-ni	i-ka	shiyâ-ri-ho-tara	sara-ba-dara-mâ	shiyû-niyen-tâ
	He speaks to	body-son	all laws	empty

[1] This letter क् is doubtful, and probably superfluous.—MS. note.

लक्षणा	अनुत्पन्ना	यु (for अ?)	निरूद्धा	अमलाविमला
lakshanâ	anutpannâ	yu (for a?)	nirûddhâ	amalâvimalâ
*raku-sha-nî	*a-nu-tanhatsu-nô	*yu	ni-rô-da	*a-ma-râ*bi-ma-râ
raki-shiya-nî	a-do-tahan-nâu	yu	ni-rô-da	a-ma-râbi-ma-raa
form	not-born		not-annihilated	not-dirty not-pure

नोना	न	परिपूर्णा	तस्माच्छारिपुत्र	शून्यतायां
nonâ	na	paripûrnâ	tasmâk khâriputra	sûnyatâyâm
*nû-nâ	*na	hatsu-ri-ho-ranâ	*tan-satsumâ *shâ-ri-fu-tanra	*shû-kin-tâ-yên
dô-nâu	nau	ha-ri-ho-randâ	ta-samâ shiyâ-ri-ho-tara	shiyû-niyen-tâ-yên
not-decreasing	not-increasing		therefore body-son	empty-middle

न	रूपं	न	वेदना[1]	संज्ञा	ना	सं-
na	rûpam	na	vedanâ	sañgñâ	nâ	sam-
*na	rô-han	*na	heki-da-na	*san-niyaku	*na	san-
nau	rô-han	nau	bei-da-nau	san-ziya	nau	san-
not	colour	not	perception	not thought	not	action

Leaf 4.

स्कारा	न	विज्ञानि	न	चक्षु	श्रोत्र	घ्राण
skârâ	na	vigñâni	na	kakshu	srotra	ghrâna
sokukâ-râ	*na	bi-niyaku-ni	*na	shaku-shu	*shurô-tanra	*gara-na
sokiyâ-râ	nau	bi-ziya-ni	nau	shiyaku-shiyu	shiyurô-tara	giyara-da
	not	knowledge	not	eye	ear	nose

जिह्वा	काय	मनोङ्सि	न	रूपं	शब्द	गन्ध	रस
gihvâ	kâya	manoṅsi	na	rûpam	sabda	gandha	rasa
*zi-kabâku	*kâ-ya	*ma-nô-shitsu	*na	rô-han	*shio-na	*gen-da	*ra-sa
zi-kabâ	kiyâ-ya	ma-nou-shi	nau	rô-han	sefu-da	gen-da	ara-sa
tongue	body	mind	not	colour	sound	smell	taste

स्पष्टव्य[2]	धर्मा	न	चक्षुर्धातु	यावन्न
spashtavya	dharmâ	na	kakshurdhâtu	yâvan na
*sanhatsura-shitsuta-hoya	*datsu-mâ	*na	shaku-shu-radâ-to	*yâ-baku-*na
sanhara-shiyutsuta-boya	dara-mâ	nau	shiyaku-shiyu-aradâ-to	yâ-ba-nau
touch	law	not	eye sphere	as far as not

मनोधातु	न	विद्या	नाविद्या	न	विद्याक्षयो
manodhâtu	na	vidyâ	nâvidyâ	na	vidyâkshayo
ma-nû-dâtsu-to	*na	bi-giyâ	*nâ-bi-giyâ	*na	bi-giyâ-*kitsusha-yû
ma-dô-dâ-to	nau	bi-giyâ	nau-bi-giyâ	nau	bi-giyâ-kitsushiya-yû
mind sphere	not	knowledge	not knowledge	not	knowledge destruction

[1] न is probably left out here.—MS. note. [2] स्प spa ought to be written स्प्र spra, as it is so both in the original MS. and in the transliteration.—B. N.

न[1]	विद्याक्ष-
na	vidyâksha-
*na	bi-giyâ-*kitsusha-
nau	bi-giyâ-kitsushiya-
not	knowledge destruction

LEAF 5.

यो	यावन्न	जरा	मरणं	न	जरामरण	क्षयो	न
yo	yâvan na	garâ	maranam	na	garâmarana	kshayo	na
yû	*yâ-baku *no	sha-râ	*ma-ra-nan	*na	sha-râ-*ma-ra-na	*kitsusha-yû	*na
yû	yâ-ba nau	ziya-râ	ma-ra-nan	nau	ziya-râ-ma-ra-da	kitsushiya-yû	nau
	as far as not	decay	death	not	decay death	destruction	not

दुःख	समुदय	निरोध	मार्ग	न	ज्ञानं	न
duhkha	samudaya	nirodha	mârga	na	gñânam	na
nuku-ka	*san-mo-na-ya	*ni-rô-da	*mâ-raga	*na	niyaku-nan	*na
doku-kiya	san-bo-da-ya	ni-rô-da	bâ-ragiya	nau	ziya-nau	nau
pain	cause	destruction	path	not	wisdom	not

प्राप्तित्वं	बोधिसत्वस्य	प्रज्ञापारमिता-
prâptitvam	bodhisatvasya	pragñâpâramitâ
hatsurâ-hitsutei-*tanbon	*bo-dai-satsu-tanbaku-sha	*hatsura-niyaku-*hâtsu-ra-mitsu-tâ-
harâ-hitsutei-tobamu	bou-gi-satsu-toba-shiya	hara-ziya-hâ-ra-mi-tâ-
obtaining therefore	Bodhisattva	wisdom other shore arrival

माशृन्या	विहरनि[2]	चित्त (for त्ता?) वरणः	चि-
mâsrinyâ	viharani	kitta (for ttâ?)-varanah	ki-
*mâ-shiri-niyâ	*bi-ka-ra-ni	*shitsu-ta-baku-ra-na	*shitsu-
mâ-shiri-niyâ	bi-ka-ra-ni	shitsu-taa-ba-ra-da	shitsu-
relying on	he dwells	heart-without-obstacle	heart

LEAF 6.

त्तावरण	नास्ति-	त्वादत्रस्तो	विपद्यसातिक्रान्तः
ttâvarana	nâsti-	tvâdatrasto	vipadyasâtikrântah
tâ-baku-ra-na	*nâ-shitsutei-tanbâku-na-tanra-sotsutô		*bi-hatsu-giya*sâ-tei-katsurânta-
taa-ba-ra-da	nau-shitsuki-tobâ-da-tara-sotsutô		bi-ha-giyasâ-ki-kiyarân-da
without obstacle	not to be	fear-frightened	turning upside down far-separated

[1] Ziogon read न na instead of ना nâ, as it is in the original MS.—B. N.

[2] नि ni must be read ति ti, as it is so in the original MS.—B. N.

तिष्ठ	निर्वाणः	त्र्यध्वव्यवस्थित्ता
tishtha	nirvânah	tryadhvavyavasthittâ
*tei-shitsuta	*ni-ritsubâku-na	*teiriya-datsubaku-biya-baku-shitsugi-tâ
ki-shiyutsuta	ni-ribâ-da	kiriya-daba-biya-ba-shitsugi-tâ
final	round (perfect)-calm	three paths

सर्वबुद्धाः	प्रज्ञापारमिता-	माशु(for शृ?)न्या-	नुत्तरां
sarvabuddhâh	pragñâpâramitâ	mâsu(for sri?)nyâ-nuttarâm	
*satsu-baku-botsu-dâ	*hatsura-niyaku-hâtsu-ra-mi-tâ-	*mâ-shitsuri-niyâ-	*nu-ta-rân
sara-ba-botsu-dâ	hara-ziya-hâ-ra-mi-tâ-	mâ-shiri-niyaa-	do-ta-rân
all Buddhas	wisdom other shore arrival	relying on	without upper

सम्यक्संबोधि-	मभिसंबुद्धा	तस्मा	ज्ञातव्यं	प्र-
samyaksambodhi-	m abhisambuddhâ	tasmâ	gñâtavyam	pra-
*san-miyaku-san-bô-dai-	*ma-bi-san-botsu-dâ	*tan-satsumâ	*niyaku-tan-biyen	*hatsura-
san-miyaku-san-bôu-gi-	ma-bi-san-bo-dâ	ta-sanmâ	ziya-ta-biyen	hara
right-proper right-waking	manifestly-right-waking one	therefore	to know	wisdom

LEAF 7.

ज्ञाप्रामिता	महामंत्रो	महा-	विद्यामंत्रः
gñâprâmitâ	mahâmamtro	mahâ-	vidyâmamtrah
niyaku-*harâ-mitsu-tâ	*ma-kâ-man-torô	*ma-kâ-bi-giyâ-man-tanra	
ziya-harâ-mi-tâ	ma-kâ-man-dorô	ma-kâ-bi-giyâ-man-dara	
other shore arrival	indeed great true-word ('charm')	indeed great knowledge true-word	

अनुत्तरमंत्र	असमसममंत्र	सर्वदुःख-
anuttaramamtra	asamasamamamtra	sarvaduhkha-
*a-nu-tan-ra-man-tanra	*a-satsu-ma-satsu-ma-man-tanra	*satsu-baku-*nuku-ka-
a-do-ta-ra-mamu-tara	a-san-ma-san-ma-man-dara	sara-ba-dotsu-kiya-
indeed without-upper true-word	indeed without-equal-equal true-word	all pain

प्रशमनः	सत्यममिथ्यत्वात्[1]	प्रज्ञा-
prasamanah	satyam amithyatvât	pragñâ-
*hatsura-sha-ma-na	*satsu-teiya-*ma-mi-teiitsu-tanbâku	*hatsura-niyaku-
hara-shiya-ma-nau	sa-kiya-ma-mi-kitsu-tobâ	hara-giya
well-removing	truth not empty	wisdom

[1] This letter त् is probably superfluous.—MS. note.

पारमितायामुक्तो	मंत्रः	तद्यथा	गते
pâramitâyâm ukto	ma*m*tra*h*	tadyathâ	gate
*hâ-ra-mitsu-tâ-yâ-*moku-kito	*man-tanra	*tan-niya-tâ	*ketsu-tei
hâ-ra-mi-taa-yâ-bo-kito	man-dara	ta-niya-tâ	giya-tei
other shore arrival indeed spoken	true-word	that which is said	

Leaf 8.

गते	पारगते	पारसंगते	बोधि	स्वाहा ॥
gate	pâragate	pârasa*m*gate	bodhi	svâhâ
ketsu-tei	ha-ra-ketsu-tei	hâ-ra-so-ketsu-tei	bô-dai	sabâku-kâ
giya-tei		hâ-ra-so-giya-tei	bôu-*g*i	sohâ-kâ

प्रज्ञापारमित-	हृ(द?)य	समप्ता
pra*g*ñâpâramita-	h*ri*(da?)-ya	samaptâ.
*hatsura-niyaku-*hâtsu-ra-mitsu-ta-	*kari(-da?)-ya	*sa-ma-hatâ.
hara-*z*iya-hâ-ra-mi-ta-	kari-ya	san-ma-hatâ.
wisdom other shore arrival	heart	finished-ended.

USH*N*ÎSHA-VI*G*AYA-DHÂRA*N*Î.

Son-shio-da-ra-ni (i.e. the Ârya-vi*g*aya-dhâra*n*î).

नमस्त्रैलोक्य-	प्रतिविसिष्टाय	बुद्धाय
Namas trailokya-	prativisish*t*âya	buddhâya
*No-ma-*shitsutanrei-ro-kiya-	*hatsura-tei-bi-shi-shitsutâ-ya	*botsu-dâ-ya
Nau-ma-shitsutarei-ro-kiya-	hara-*k*i-bi-shi-shiyutsutâ-ya	bo-dâ-ya
Respect to the three worlds	most excellent	enlightened one

भगवते	त-
bhagavate	ta-
*ba-ga-baku-tei	*tan-
ba-giya-ba-tei	ta-
world-honoured	

Leaf 9.

द्यथा	ओं	विसोधय	सम	समन्तावभास-
dyathâ	O*m*	visodhaya	sama	samantâvabhâsa-
tetsuya-tâ	*an	*bi-shû-da-ya	*sa-ma	sa-man-tâ-*baku-bâ-sa-
niya-tâ	won	bi-shiyû-da-ya	samu-ma	samu-man-daa-ba-bâ-shiya-
that which is said	three bodies	purify	equal	common shining

स्फरण	गति	गहन	स्वभावशुद्धे
sphara*n*a	gati	gahana	svabhâva*s*uddhe
*satsuha-ra-na	*ga-tei	ga-ka-no	*sabaku-bâ-baku-*shu-dai
soha-ran-da	giya-*k*i	giya-ka-nau	soba-bâmu-ba-shiyu-dei
stretching everywhere	six-states	thick-forest	self-nature pure

अभिषिंचतु	मां	सुगतवचनामृताभिषेकै
abhishi*mk*atu	mâ*m*	sugatava*k*anâm*ri*tâbhishekai
*a-bî-shin-sha-*to	mân	*so-ga-ta-*baku-sha-nô-*mitsuri-tâ-*bi-sei-kei
a-bî-shin-*z*iya-to	mâmu	so-giya-ta-ba-shiya-naua-miri-taa-bi-sei-kei
sprinkle (water) on the head	me	well-gone excellent-teaching sweet dew sprinkling (water) on the head

हरा	हरा	आयःसंन्तारणे	शोधय	शोध-
harâ	harâ	âya*h*sa*m*ntâra*n*e	*s*odhaya	*s*odha-
*ka-râ	ka-râ	*â-yoku-san-ta-ra-ni	*shû-datsu-ya	*shû-datsu-
ka-râ	ka-râ	â-yu-san-da-ra-ni	shiyû-da-ya	shiyû-da-
please take	please take	firmly stopping and holding life	purify	purify much

Leaf 10.

य	गगनविसुद्धे	उष्णीषविजयसुद्धे
ya	gaganavisuddhe	ush*n*îshavi*g*ayasuddhe
ya	*ga-ga-no-bi-shu-tei	*u-shitsunî-sha-*bi-niyaku-ya-*shu-tei
ya	giya-giya-nau-bi-shiyu-dei	u-shiyunî-shiya-bi-*z*iya-ya-shiyu-dei
	like-sky-pure	Buddha's head most victorious pure

सहस्ररम्यि (for इमे?)	संचोदिते	सर्व-
sahasraramyi (for *s*me?)	sa*mk*odite	sarva-
*sa-ka-sara-*ra-shimi	*san-sô-ni-tei	*satsu-baku-
sa-ka-sara-ara-shimei	san-sô-ni-tei	sara-ba-
with thousand rays	roused	all

तथागताधिष्ठानाधिष्ठित-	मुद्रे	वज्र-
tathâgatâdhishtânâdhishthita-	mudre	vagra-
tan-tâ-getsu-tâ-*gi-shitsutâ-nâ-gi-shitsuki-ta-	*mo-narei	*baku-gitsura-
ta-tâ-giya-taa-gi-shiyutsuta-naua (or naa)-gi-shiyutsuki-ta-bo-darei		ba-zara-
Tathâgata spiritual-power-joined	seal	diamond

कायसंहतनसुद्धे	सर्ववरणविसुद्धे
kâyasamhatanasuddhe	sarvavaranavisuddhe
*kâ-ya-*so-ka-ta-no-*shu-dai	*satsu-baku-*baku-ra-na-*bi-shu-dai
kiyâ-ya-sou-ga-ta-nau-shiyu-dei	sara-ba-ba-ra-da-bi-shiyu-dei
body link-chain pure	all obstacle pure

प्रतिनिव-
pratiniva-
*hatsura-tei-nei-*betsu-
hara-ki-ni-bari-
successively

Leaf 11.

र्तय	आयुसुद्धे	समयाधिष्ठिते	मनि	मनि
rtaya	âyusuddhe	samayâdhishthite	mani	mani
ta-ya	*â-yoku-shu-tei	*sa-ma-yâ-*gi-shitsuki-tei	*ma-ni	*ma-ni
ta-ya	â-yu-shiyu-dei	san-ma-yaa-gi-shiyutsuki-tei	ma-ni	ma-ni
turn	life-all-obtaining pure	vow-prayer joined	world-gem (or mind)	law-gem (or thought)

तथाता	भूतकोटिपरिसुद्धे	विस्फुटबुद्धिशुद्धे	जय
tathâtâ	bhûtakotiparisuddhe	visphutabuddhisuddhe	gaya
*tan-tatsu-tâ	bû-ta-kû-ki-*hatsu-ri-shu-tei	*bi-safu-ta-*botsu-gi-shu-tei	*niyaku-ya
ta-ta-tâ	bô-ta-kû-ki-ha-ri-shiyu-dei	bi-soho-ta-bo-gi-shiyu-dei	ziya-ya
truth-true	everywhere pure	unfolded wisdom pure	victorious

जय	विजय[1]	स्मर	सर्वबुद्धाधिष्ठितसुद्धे
gaya	vigaya	smara	sarvabuddhâdhishthitasuddhe
niyaku-ya	*bi-niyaku-ya	*sama-ra	*satsu-baku-botsu-dâ-*gi-shitsuki-ta-*shu-tei
ziya-ya	bi-ziya-ya	samuma-ra	sara-ba-botsu-daa-gi-shiyutsuki-ta-shiyu-dei
	most victorious	remember	all Buddhas joined pure

[1] In the 'Doctrine of Truth'(?) this word is repeated.—MS. note.

वज्रे	वज्रगर्भे	वज्रं
vagre	vagragarbhe	vagram
*baku-zitsurêi	*baku-zitsura-getsu-hei	*baku-zitsuran
ba-zirêi	ba-zara-giyara-bei	ba-zaran
diamond	diamond-concealed	like-diamond

Leaf 12.

भवतु	मम	सर्वसत्वानां	च
bhavatu	mama	sarvasatvânâm	ka
ba-baku-to	*ma-ma	*satsu-baku-*satsu-tanbâku-nân	sa
bamu-ba-to	ma-ma	sara-ba-satsu-tobâ-nân	shiya
I pray success	my	all living beings	

कायविसुद्धे	सर्वगति-	परिसुद्धे	सर्वतथागत
kâyavisuddhe	sarvagati-	parisuddhe	sarvatathâgata
*ka-ya-*bi-shu-tei	*satsu-baku-*ga-tei-	*hatsu-ri-shu-tei	*satsu-baku-tan-tâ-getsu-ta
kiya-ya-bi-shiyu-dei	sara-ba-giya-ki-	ha-ri-shiyu-dei	sara-ba-ta-tâ-giya-ta
body reaching pure	all states	all pure	all Tathâgata

समास्वासाधिष्ठिते	बुध्य	बुध्य	बोधय
samâsvâsâdhishthite	budhya	budhya	bodhaya
*sa-mâ-shiubâku-sâ-*gi-shitsuki-tei	*botsu-giya	botsu-giya	*bô-da-ya
samu-mâ-shifubâ-saa-gi-shiyutsuki-tei	botsu-giya	botsu-giya	bôu-da-ya
comforting joined cause to be pure	be enlightened	be enlightened	cause to understand

विबोधय	सोधय	विसोधय	सर्वकर्मव-
vibodhaya	sodhaya	visodhaya	sarvakarmava-
*bi-bô-da-ya	*shû-da-ya	*bi-shû-da-ya	*satsu-baku-*katsu-ma-*baku-
bi-bôu-da-ya	shiyû-da-ya	bi-shiyû-da-ya	sara-ba-kiyara-ma-ba-
cause to understand	quickly purify	quickly purify	all action

Leaf 13.

रणानि	सम	समन्तपरिसुद्धे	सर्वतथागता-
ranâni	sama	samantaparisuddhe	sarvatathâgatâ-
ra-nâ-ni	*sa-ma	sa-man-ta-*hatsu-ri-shu-tei	*satsu-baku-tan-tâ-ketsu-tâ-
ra-dâ-ni	samu-ma	samu-mamu-da-ha-ri-shiyu-dei	sara-ba-ta-tâ-giya-taa
obstacles	equal	everywhere all pure	for all Tathâgata

धिष्ठानाधिष्ठिते	स्वाहा ॥	उष्णीषविजय-
dhish*th*ânâdhish*th*ite	svâhâ	ush*n*îshavi*g*aya-
g*i-shitsuta-nô-g*i-shitsu*k*i-tei	sabâ(ku)-kâ	*u-shunî-sha-*bi-niyaku-ya-
*g*i-shiyutsuta-naua-*g*i-shiyutsu*k*i-tei	sohâ-kâ	u-shiyunî-shyia-bi-*z*iya-ya-
place placed	final-accomplishment	Buddha-head victorious

थारनि[1]	समप्ता			
thârani	samaptâ	अं a*m*	अं a*m*	अः a*h*
*da-ra-ni	*sa-ma-hatâ			
da-ra-ni	samu-ma-hatâ			
holding	accomplished and ended	letter	letter	letter

Leaf 14.

*Z*iu-shi-on (i. e. fourteen sounds).

सिद्धं	अ	आ	इ	ई	उ	ऊ	ऋ[2]	ॠ	ऌ	ॡ	ए	ऐ	ओ	औ	अं	अः
siddha*m*	a	â	i	î	u	û	*ri*	*rî*	*li*	*lî*	e	ai	o	au	a*m*	a*h*
*shitsu-don	*a	aa	i	î	u	û	kitsuri	kitsurî	ri	reî	yei	ai	wo	ou	an	aku-
shitsu-tan	a	aa	i	ii	u	uu	kiri	kirii	ri	rii	yei	ai	wo	au	an	aku

क	ख	ग	घ	ङ	च	छ	ज	झ	ञ
ka	kha	ga	gha	ṅa	*k*a	*kh*a	*g*a	*gh*a	*ñ*a
ka	ka	ga	ga (heavy)	gio	sha	sha	*z*ia	*z*ia (heavy)	*z*io
kiya	kiya	giya	giya	giyau	shiya	shiya	*z*iya	*z*iya	*z*iyau

ट	ठ	ड	ढ	ण	त	थ	द	ध	न	प	फ	ब	भ
*t*a	*th*a	*d*a	*dh*a	*n*a	ta	tha	da	dha	na	pa	pha	ba	bha
ta	ta	da	da (heavy)	na	tan	ta	da	da (heavy)	na	ha	ha	ba	ba (heavy)
ta	ta	da	da	dau	ta	ta	da	da	nau	ha	ha	ba	ba

म	य	र	ल	व	श	ष	स	ह	ळं	क्ष
ma	ya	ra	la	va	*s*a	sha	sa	ha	lla*m*	ksha
ma	ya	ra	ra	baku	sha	sha	sa	ka	ran	kitsusha
mau	ya	ra	ra	ba or wa	shiya	shiya	sa	ka	ran	kishiya

[1] था thâ must be read धा dhâ, as it is so in the original MS.—B. N. [2] This letter is not exactly the same in *Z*iogon's copy as it is in the original MS.

III.

TEXT OF THE PRAGÑÂ-PÂRAMITÂ-H*RI*DAYA-SÛTRA AS PUBLISHED IN JAPAN.

The short text of the H*ri*daya-sûtra, as we have now traced it from the original palm-leaves (A. D. 609) to *Z*iogon's copy, made in 1694, and to the two facsimiles, one published in the Ashara*g*io, the other ordered by Iwakura Tomomi, was evidently most widely studied in Japan, and while being reproduced in different monasteries suffered considerable corruption. This corrupt text, however, acquired an independent authority. It was not meant to be understood, but only to be repeated, and we find it even engraved on stones with all these corruptions.

As specimens of these more or less corrupt reproductions, we give here two texts, published by a Japanese priest Hôkiô, A. D. 1744. The first text is called by him the old text, while what we give in the second line is a text corrected by the Japanese editor. He has also added to the old text a Japanese transliteration and a literal Chinese translation. The corrected text is accompanied by a Chinese transliteration and a literal Chinese translation. Some notes are added to both texts.

In the third line we have printed a text, published in Japan in A. D. 1807, by a priest Kiyen. It is likewise accompanied by a transliteration, a Chinese translation, and a kind of grammatical analysis, ascribed to Hôgo, the disciple of *Z*iun. This book forms part of a large collection, containing writings of *Z*iun, Hôgo, and others, and called Bon-gaku-shin-riô, i. e. Ferry beam for the study of Sanskrit.

नम सर्वज्ञय
नम सर्वज्ञय ॥
नमस्सर्वज्ञाय ॥

अर्यवरोकितश्वरा बोधिसद्व खंविरय प्रज्ञापरमितय चर्यं
आर्यावलोकितेश्वर बोधिसत्व गंभीरय प्रज्ञपरमितयं चर्यं
आर्यावलोकितेश्वर बोधिसत्वो गम्भीरं प्रज्ञपारमितायं चर्यां

चरमणे व्यभ्ररोकयति स्म पच स्कद्वस्धश स्वभावशुत्य
चारमनुष्य व्यवलोकयति स्म पंच स्कन्धास्तश्च स्वभावशुन्यां
चरमानो व्यावलोकयति स्म पंच स्कन्धास्ताश्च स्वभावशुन्यं

पश्यति स्म ईह शरिपुत्र रूपं शुचिता श्यन्यतैव रूपं न्त
पश्यति स्म इह शरिपुत्र रूपं शुन्यता शुन्यतेव रूपं रूपंन्त
पश्यति स्म इह शारिपुत्र रूपं शुन्यता शुन्यतैव रूपं रूपान्न

पृथह्रगशुन्यत शुत्यधाय त पृणश्रूपं पंद्रूप स शुत्यत य शुत्यता
पृथक्खशुन्यत शुन्यतय न पृथक्श्रूपं यद्रूपंप स शुन्यत य शुन्यते
पृथक् शुन्यता शुन्यताया न पृथग्रूपं यद्रूपं सा शुन्यता य शुन्यता

वद्रूपं एववपेव वेदनसंस्हरविज्ञतनि
वद्रूपं एवंपथ वेदनसंज्ञसंस्कारविज्ञननि च
तद्रूपं एवमैव वैदनसंज्ञसंस्कारविज्ञनाति

ईह शरिपुद्र सर्वधर्म्मं शुन्यतरक्षण अतुद्मन्ध अनिरुद्व
इह शरिपुत्र सर्वधर्म्मं शुन्यतलक्षण अनुत्पन्ध अनिरूद्धा
इह शारिपुत्र सर्वधर्मा शुन्यतालक्षणा अनुत्पन्नायुनिरूद्धा

अमलाविमला तो न परिपुहु नस्मच्छरपुत्र शुन्यताय
अमलविमल न अवधाता न परिपुर्णं तस्मच्छरिपुत्र शुन्यतायं
अमलविमला तोना न परिपुर्णा तस्माच्छारिपुत्र शुन्यतायं

न रूपं न वेदन न संज्ञ न संस्हर न विज्ञवि न चक्षश्रूत्रघ्र-
न रूपं न वेदन न संज्ञ न संस्करा न विज्ञनं न चक्षश्रूत्रघ्र-
न रूपं न वेदना संज्ञ ना संस्कारा न विज्ञति न चक्षश्रूत्रघ्रा-

णजिह्वकयमनद्भि न रूपं गन्धरससपृपृव्यधर्मं न चक्षधतु
णजिह्वकयमनज्सि न रूपं शब्दगन्धरसस्पर्शष्टव्यधर्मं न चक्षधतु
णजिह्वाकायमनोङ्गि न रूपं शब्दगन्धरसस्प्रष्टव्यधर्मं न चक्षर्धातु

यवत मरोधतो न विद्य विद्य न विद्यक्षयो
यवन न मनविज्ञनधतु न आविद्य न आविद्यक्षयो
यावन्न मनोविजनंधातु न विद्या न विद्या न विद्यक्षयो न

२ यवत्न जरमरण न जरमरणक्षण न दुगसेपुदय-
यवन न जरमरणं न जरमरणंक्षयो न दुःखसंमुदेय-
विद्याक्षयो यावन्न जरामरणं न जरामरणंक्षयो न दुःखसमुदय-

निनरोधमर्ग न ज्ञनं न प्रपिद् न प्रपितक्कं बोधिसद्वस्य प्रज्ञ-
निरोधमर्ग न ज्ञनं न प्रपित न प्रपितत्वंन बोधिसत्वस्य प्रज्ञ-
निरोधमार्ग न ज्ञनं न प्राप्ति न प्राप्तित्वं बोधिसत्वस्य प्रज्ञ-

परमितमश्नत्य वहरत्य चित्ववरण: चित्ववरण नस्धिङ्ग-
परमितमशृन्य विहरनि चित्नवरण: चित्नवरण: नस्तित्व-
पारमितामाशृन्या विहरनि चित्तवरण: चित्तावरण नास्तित्वा-

दत्रस्ते विपल्यसतिक्रात्त: तिष्टनिर्वण: च्यध्वव्यस्थित सर्व-
दत्रस्त विषम्टसतिक्रात: निष्टनिर्वणस्त्यिध्विकव्यस्तित सर्व-
दत्रस्तो विपद्यसातिक्रांन्त: निष्टनिर्वाण: च्यध्वव्यवस्थित्ता सर्व-

बुद्ध प्रज्ञपरमितमश्य अतुत्तर संम्यसंबोधिमभिसंबुद्ध
बु:द्धा प्रज्ञपरमितमशृन्य अनुत्तर संम्यक्संबोधियमभिसंबु:द्ध
बुद्धा: प्रज्ञपारमितामाशृद्यानुतरां सम्यक्सबोधिमभिसंबुद्धा

तस्स ज्ञतव्यं प्रज्ञपरमितमहामंत्रा महाविद्यमंत्रा: अतरमंत्रा
तस्म ज्ञतंव्यं प्रज्ञपरमितमहामंत्रा महाविद्यमंत्रा अनुत्तरमंत्रा
तस्म ज्ञतव्यं प्रज्ञपारमितामहामंत्रो महाविद्यामंत्र: अनुत्तरमंत्र

असमसममंत्रा सर्वदु:खप्रशमत: सच्यममिल्यद्वट् प्रज्ञपर-
असमसममंत्रा सर्वदु:खप्रशक्यभीत: सच्यममिर्ष्यत्वद् प्रज्ञपर-
असमसममंत्र सर्वदु:खप्रशमन्त: सत्यममिथ्यत्वक् प्रज्ञपार-

मितयमुक्ते मंत्र तन्यथा गते गते परगते परसुंगते बुधि स्वह
मितमुक्ते मंत्र तद्यथा गते गते परगते परसुंगते बोधि स्वहा
मितायामुक्तो मंत्र तद्यथा गते गते पारगते पारसंगते बोधि स्वाहा

प्रज्ञपरमितहृदयसुत्रं समव्ध ॥
प्रज्ञपरमितहृदयसुत्रं समप्त
प्रज्ञपारमिताहृयसुत्रं समप्त

IV.

THE USH*N*ÎSHA-VI*G*AYA-DHÂRA*N*Î AS AN INSCRIPTION.

This Dhâra*n*î, besides being preserved in MSS., is of frequent occurrence also as an inscription in Buddhist countries.

The copy of one of these inscriptions I owe to the kindness of Mr. A. Wylie, who, in a letter dated July 30, 1883, informed me that it was sent to him by Dr. MacCarthy from Japan, somewhere between 1872 and 1874. The stone tablet from which the rubbing is taken, stands in the Asakusa temple in the northern part of the city of Yedo.

In April 1881 some stone rubbings were sent to me by Mr. Vaux, the Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society. They had been sent to the Society by Dr. Bushell, and I saw at once that they contained Buddhist inscriptions in Sanskrit with Chinese transliterations. The letters in these inscriptions are in some cases more archaic than those of the Asakusa inscription, and I hoped they would have been published long ago in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society. Three of the inscriptions contain the Ush*n*isha-vi*g*aya-dhâra*n*î. They have been carefully copied by Mr. Bunyiu Nanjio, and are printed in three lines, preceded by the text of the Asakusa inscription.

Most of these Dhâra*n*îs are prayers so utterly devoid of sense and grammar that they hardly admit and still less are deserving of a translation, however important they may be palæographically, and, in one sense, historically also, as marking the lowest degradation of one of the most perfect religions, at least as conceived originally in the mind of its founder. Here we have in mere gibberish a prayer for a long life, addressed to Buddha, who taught that deliverance from life was the greatest of all blessings. While the beautiful utterances of Buddha were forgotten, these miserable Dhâra*n*îs spread all over the world, and are still to be found, not only in Northern, but in Southern Buddhism also. Many years ago, in 1858, I gave an account of some Dhâra*n*îs, found in the cave of St. Peacock, in Ceylon, by Mr. J. Baillie, and sent to my old

friend, the then Radcliffe Observer, Mr. Johnson, by Sir H. Ward, the Governor of Ceylon. See Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, vol. xii, p. 514, 'Dagobas aus Ceylon,' by Professor F. M. M. And now they turn up again on stone columns in China, where we can trace their presence to at least 1200 A. D. While the Sanskrit MSS., containing the rational and at all events grammatical words of Buddha, which were imported into China by hundreds and thousands, are said to have vanished, and are forgotten by those who call themselves followers of Buddha, we here find inscriptions engraved on public monuments so far back as A. D. 1107, and moved from temple to temple so lately as A. D. 1819. Here, as elsewhere, the truth of the Eastern proverb is confirmed, that the scum floats along on the surface, and the pearls lie on the ground.

There are at least ten different transliterations of the foregoing Dhâra*n*î, in the Chinese Tripi*t*aka, in the India Office Library. The following is a list of these transliterations, with their Chinese titles, in which those consisting of more than 4 leaves should be understood to contain the translation of an Introduction to the Dhâra*n*î:—

1. No. 348 (佛頂尊勝陀羅尼經), in 8 leaves, by Buddhapâli(ta), of Northern India, in about A. D. 700, under the Thâṅ dynasty; with two prefaces, one dated 1411, by the Emperor *Kh*âṅ-tsu of the Miṅ dynasty.

2. No. 349 (佛頂尊勝陀羅尼經), in 7 leaves and a half, by Tu Hsiṅ-i, an official at the Chinese court, in about 700.

3. No. 350 (佛說佛頂尊勝陀羅尼經), in 9 leaves, by I-tsiṅ, a Chinese priest, in about 700.

4. No. 351 (最勝佛頂陀羅尼淨除業障經), in 14 leaves and a half, by Divâkara, of Central India, in about 700. This is said to be a later production of this Indian priest.

5. No. 352 (佛頂最勝陀羅尼經), in 7 leaves, by the same as before, with a preface, dated 682. This seems to be the oldest of all the transliterations of this Dhâra*n*î in existence. In the Catalogue of the period *K*'-yuen, compiled in 1285, this Chinese title is given first with the following Sanskrit title: आर्यसर्वदुर्गतिपरिचूदनोष्णीषविजयनामधारणी (cf. Julien's Concordance, No. 173).

6. No. 796 (最勝佛頂陀羅尼經), in 3 leaves, by Fâ-thien ('Dharmadeva'), of India, about 1000, under the Suṅ dynasty.

7. No. 834 (佛說尊勝大明王經), in 4 leaves, by Sh'-hu ('Dânapâla'), of India, about 1000.

8. No. 871 (佛說一切如來烏瑟膩沙最勝總持經), in 9 leaves, by Fâ-thien.

9. No. 878 (佛說聖最勝陀羅尼經), in 4 leaves and a half, by Sh'-hu.

10. No. 1467 (瑜伽集要焰口施食儀), in which (fols. 30 b–34 b) there are given in parallel columns the Sanskrit text with a transliteration (佛頂尊勝陀羅尼神咒), by Amoghava*g*ra, who died in 774.

The text and transliteration in No. 1467, in the Chinese Tripi*t*aka, are not exactly the same as those given below as No. 1; though the transliteration is ascribed to the same author.

The other transliteration, by Fâ-hu, printed below as No. 3, is not found in the Chinese Tripi*t*aka as an independent work.

Thus there are twelve transliterations of the same or nearly the same Dhâra*n*î, dated from 682 to 1058.

In Yueh-tsâṅ-*k*'-tsiṅ (閱藏知津, fasc. 12, fol. 4 a) there is the following extract from the Introduction to the Dhâra*n*î in I-tsiṅ's translation, i. e. No. 350, in the Chinese Tripi*t*aka:—

('At one time) Buddha lived in the garden of Anâthapi*nd*ada. Then there was a Devaputra called Sush*th*ita, who was destined to die on the seventh day, and to go to receive the body of a Tiryagyoni, or a lower animal, in seven successive births, and then to fall into Niraya or Naraka. Fearing these future misfortunes, he consulted (lit. addressed) *S*akra, the Indra or king of the Devas, who in turn asked Buddha for his help. (On that occasion) Buddha uttered this Dhâra*n*î, and made the Devaputra to remember it. By this merit the latter increased his life, and obtained the prophecy of his attaining to the Bodhi.'

The other four earlier translations (i. e. Nos. 348, 349, 351, 352) are said to give a similar account. In No. 351 there is also a story of the former birth of this Devaputra. (Yueh-tsâṅ-*k*'-tsiṅ, fasc. 12, fol. 5 a.)

According to this work (fasc. 12, fol. 7 a), however, No. 871 gives a different introduction to the Dhâra*n*î, which is as follows:—

'In the country of Sukhâvatî, Buddha Amitâyus addressed this Dhâra*n*î and the Law of accomplishment to the Bodhisattva Avalokite*s*vara, and caused many beings to be born in that country.'

Here therefore the Dhâra*n*î is ascribed to Buddha Amitâyus.

A similar account is given in a book, probably published in China, but without date[1]. It is 'A Collection of Miscellaneous Buddhist Sanskrit Texts,' containing several Sûtras and Dhâra*n*îs, such as the Va*g*ra*kkh*edikâpra*g*ñâpâramitâ-sûtra; the Avalokite*s*vara-sûtra, or the Samantamukhâdhyâya, i. e. the twenty-fourth (or twenty-fifth in Kumâra*g*îva's Chinese version) chapter of the Saddharmapu*nd*arîka-sûtra; and the Pra*g*ñâpâramitâh*ri*daya-sûtra, etc. In this interesting collection (pp. 69–75), the present Dhâra*n*î is introduced with the following lines:—

॥ नमो भगवत्या आर्यसर्वतथागतोष्णीषविजयायै ॥ एवं मया
श्रुतमेकस्मिन्समये भगवान्सुखावत्यां धर्मसंगीतिमहागुह्यप्रादावरे[2]
सुखोपविष्टो भगवानमितायुस्तथागतोऽर्हन्सम्यक्संबुद्ध आर्या-
वलोकितेश्वरं बोधिसत्त्वं महासत्त्वमामंत्रयते स्म ॥ आ संति
कुलपुत्र दुःखिताः सत्त्वा नानाव्याधिपरिपीडिता मंदायुष्कास्ते-
षामर्थायेमां सर्वतथागतोष्णीषविजयां नाम धारणीं धारय परे-
भ्यश्च विस्तरेण संप्रकाशय पर्यायस्कंधमुपादायेति । अथार्याव-
लोकितेश्वरो बोधिसत्त्वो महासत्त्व उत्थायासनात्कृतांजलिपूटो
भूत्वा भगवंतमेतदवोचत् । देशयतु भगवान्सर्वतथागतोष्णीषवि-
जयां नाम धारणीं देशयतु सुगतः । अथ खलु भगवान्सर्वावंतं
पर्षन्मंडलमवलोक्य समंतावलोकिश्रियं नाम समाधिं (समाधि)
समापद्येमां सर्वतथागतोष्णीषविजयां नाम धारणीं भाषते स्म ॥

[1] The only copy of this book which is known to exist was given to Mr. Wylie by an antiquarian at Peking, and is now in my possession.—F. M. M.

[2] Professor Oldenberg suggests गुह्यप्रासादवरे; see Rájendralal Mitra's Nepalese Buddhist Literature, p. 267, l. 23.

नमो भगवते सर्वत्रैलोक्यप्रतिविशिष्टाय बुद्धाय (भगव)ते नमः
तद्यथा ओँ भ्रूँ भ्रूँ भ्रूँ शोधय शोधय विशोधय विशोधय असमस-
मंतावभासस्फरणगतिगगनस्वभावविशुद्ध अभिषिंचोंतु मां सर्वत-
थागताः सुगतवरवचनामृताभिषेकैर्महामुद्रामंत्रपदैः आहर आहर
ममायुः सन्धारणि शोधय शोधय विशोधय विशोधय गगनस्व-
भावविशुद्ध उष्णीषविजयपरिशुद्धे सहस्ररश्मिसंचोदिते सर्वतथा-
गतावलोकिति षट्पारमितापरिपूरणि सर्वतथागतमाते दश-
भूमिप्रतिष्ठिते सर्वतथागतहृदयाधिष्ठानाधिष्ठिते मुद्रे मुद्रे महामुद्रे
वज्रकायसंहतनपरिशुद्धे सर्वकर्मावरणविशुद्धे प्रतिनिवर्तय ममा-
युर्विशुद्धे सर्वतथागतसमयाधिष्ठानाधिष्ठिते ओँ मुनि मुनि महा-
मुनि विमुनि विमुनि महाविमुनि॰

It ends (p. 75, l. 17): आर्यसर्वतथागतोष्णीषविजया नाम धा-
रणी कल्पसहिता समाप्ता ॥

THE SANSKRIT TEXT OF THE USH*N*ÎSHA-VI*G*AYA-DHÂRA*N*Î AND TWO TRANSLITERATIONS IN CHINESE.

1. The Sanskrit text with a transliteration, made by 大辯正廣智 Ta-pien-*k*an-kwân-*k*', i. e. posthumous title of Amoghava*g*ra, who died in A. D. 774, under the Thân dynasty. (See 佛祖統紀 Fo-tsu-thun-*k*i, fasc. 41, fol. 5 a.) These are given in an Inscription, the date of which is invisible, though the characters 元年, 'the first year,' are seen in the last column. In this Inscription the text and the transliteration are written side by side.

2. The text without transliteration, in an Inscription dated 1107, erected by 志妙 *K*i-miâo, a Chinese priest, in memory of a deceased disciple of his, under the Liâo (遼) dynasty.

3. The text with a transliteration, made by 法護 Fâ-hu (Dharma-

raksha), of India, who had the honourable title 普明慈覺傳梵大師 Phu-miṅ-tshz'-*k*iâo-*k*wen-fân-tâ-sh', given to him by the Emperor 仁宗 *Z*an-tsuṅ, of the Suṅ dynasty, in 1054, and died in 1058. (See Fo-tsu-thuṅ-*k*i, fasc. 45, fols. 16 b, 17 a.) This Inscription is dated 1147, and was erected by 馮長寧 Fan *Kh*ân-miṅ, a noble of the *K*in (金) dynasty. In 1819 (嘉慶二十四年) it was moved from its original place, i. e. the Hsiâo-kuṅ Temple to the south of Shih-ku, in the province of Honan, to the Temple of Kwân-ti, i. e. the god of war, within the walls of the city of Hsü-*k*eu, by its governor 甘揚聲 Kân Yâṅ-shaṅ. In this Inscription the text and transliteration are written separately.

The first line contains the text of the same Dhâra*n*î, taken from the rubbing of a quite recent Stone Inscription at Asakusa in Tokio (No. V of the autotype plates).

Asakusa text: 佛頂尊勝陀羅尼 Butsu-*k*io-son-shio-da-ra-ni,
'Buddhosh*n*îshâryavi*g*aya-dhâra*n*î.'

Amoghava*g*ra (died 774): 佛頂尊勝陀羅尼
唐興善寺大德贈司空大辯正廣
智三藏和尙奉詔譯

Dharmaraksha (died 1058): 華梵加句靈驗佛頂尊勝陀羅尼
天竺譯經三藏試光祿卿普明慈
覺傳梵大師賜紫沙門法護譯

Asakusa text:	नमःसर्वज्ञाय	नमो	भगवते	- - त्रैलोक्य-
Amoghava*g*ra:	-[1]	नमो	भगवते	- - त्रैलोक्य-
		曩□[2]□□□□		□□嚕□也吝
*K*i-miâo:	-	नमो	भागवति	- - त्र्लोक्य-
Dharmaraksha:	ओँ	नमो	भगवते	सर्वत्रैलोक्य-
	唵	那謨	婆誐嚩帝	薩哩嚩怛嚩路葛也

[1] This sign is meant to show that a syllable in Dharmaraksha's text is left out in the other texts. [2] These squares indicate that the letters are not quite legible.

प्रतिविशिष्टाय	बुद्धाय	भगवते
प्रतिविशिष्टाय	बुद्धाय	भगवते
鉢囉吝底毖尾始瑟吒龠野	沒馱引野	婆□□□
प्रतिविषिष्टाय	बुद्धाय	भागवति
प्रतिविशिष्टाय	बुद्धाय	भगवते
鉢囉帝尾尸瑟吒野	沒馱野	婆誐嚩帝

- -	तद्यथा	ओं	-	-	- - -	- - -	
- -	तद्यथा	ओँ	-	-	- - -	- - -	
- -	□□□	□	-	-	- - -	- - -	
- -	ताद्य -	ओँ	-	-	- - -	- - -	
नमः	तद्यथा	ओँ	भ्रूँ	भ्रूँ	भ्रूँ	शोधय	शोधय
那莫	怛寧也佗	唵	勃籠	勃籠	勃籠	輸馱野	輸馱野

विशोधय	५ (twice)	- सम२समन्तावभास-
विशोधाय	- - - -	- समसमन्तावभास-
□□馱也	- - - -	娑麼三去滿跢引嚩娑去引娑
विशोधाय	- - - -	- सामसामातवभास-
विशोधय	विशोधय	असमसमन्तावभस-
尾輸馱耶	尾輸馱耶	阿薩摩三滿多嚩婆娑

स्फरण	गतिगहन	स्वभावविशुद्धे	अभि-
स्फरण	गतिगगन	स्वभाव - शुद्धे	अभि-
颯頗吝囉拏	誐底誐誐□	□婆去嚩□第	阿上□
स्फरणा	गतिगहान	स्वाभाव - शुद्धि	अभि-
स्फरण	गतिगगन	स्वभवविशुद्धे	अभि-
颯頗藺拏	誐帝誐誐那	娑婆嚩尾戍提	阿毗

षिंचतु	मां	------ सुगतवरवचन
षिंच॰	मां	------ सुगतवरवचना-
□ □	牟含	------ 蘇蘗多嚩囉嚩□曩
षिञ्च॰	मां	------ सुगन्तवरवचन
षिञ्चन्तु	मां	सर्वतथागतसुगतवरवचना-
詵左覩	牟含	薩哩嚩怛佗誐多蘇誐多嚩囉嚩左那

अमृताभिषेकै महा - - वन्त्रपदै	-
मृताभिषेक --------	-
□ 跢(去引) 鼻 曬(引) □ -----	-
अमृतभिषिकै --------	-
मृतोभिषेकैर्महामुद्रामन्त्रपदैः	ओँ
蜜哩多毗尸該哩摩賀母捺囉滿怛囉鉢迺	唵

आहर	२	आयुसंधारणि	शोधय
आहर	आहर	आयुसन्धारणि	शोधय
阿(去引)賀囉	阿(去引)賀囉	阿(去引)庾□□囉泥	□□野
अहार	आहार	आयुसाडारणि	शोधाय
आहर	आहर	आयुःसन्धरणि	शोधय
阿賀囉	阿賀囉	阿欲散馱囉尼	輸馱野

२	----	----	गगन ---
---	----	----	गगन ---
---	----	----	誐誐曩 ---
शाधाय	----	----	गगन ---
शोधय	विशोधय	विशोधय	गगनस्वभाव-
輸馱野	尾輸馱野	尾輸馱野	誐誐那莎婆嚩

विशुद्धे	उष्णीषविजयविशुद्धे	सहस्र-
विशुद्धे	उष्णीषविजयविशुद्धे	सहस्र-
尾秫第(引)	鄔□□□尾惹□□□□	□□□□
विशुद्धे	उष्णीषविजयविशुद्धे	सहास्र-
विशुद्धे	उष्णीषविजयपरिशुद्धे	सहस्र-
尾戍提	烏瑟膩沙尾惹野鉢哩戍提	薩賀薩囉

रश्मिसंचूदिते	सर्वतथागतावल्कनि
रश्मिसांचोदिते	सर्वतथागता ----
□□□散祖你□	薩嚩多他蘗哆
रश्मिसांचोदिति	सर्वतथागता ----
रश्मिसञ्चोदिते	सर्वतथागतावलोकिनि
囉濕彌散祖禰帝	薩哩嚩怛佗誐多嚩路吉你

षट्पारमितपरिपुरणि	सर्वतथागता --
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षट्पारमितापरिपूरणि	सर्वतथागतमाते
殺吒播囉彌多鉢哩布囉尼	薩哩嚩怛佗誐多摩帝

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दशभूमिप्रतिष्ठिते	सर्वतथागता	मम
捺舍普彌鉢囉底瑟恥帝	薩哩嚩怛佗誐多	摩摩

हृदयाधिष्ठानाधिष्ठिते	-	- -	- -
- - - धिष्ठानाधिष्ठित	-	मुद्रे	- -
- - - 地瑟□□地瑟耻□	-	□□	- -
- - - धिष्ठानधिष्ठित	-	मुद्रे	- -
हृदयाधिष्ठानाधिष्ठिते	ॐ	मुद्रे	मुद्रे
紇哩捺野提瑟姹那提瑟耻帝	唵	母捺哩	母捺哩

महामुद्रे	वज्रकायसुङ्हतन	विशुद्धे
- - - -	वज्रकायसंहतन	- शुद्धे
- - - -	□□□迦野僧賀多□	□第吉引
- - - -	वज्रकयसाहातन	- शुद्धे
महामुद्रे	वज्रकायसंहतन	परिशुद्धे
摩賀母捺哩	嚩惹囉歌野僧賀怛那	鉢哩戍提

सर्वा - -	वरणभयदुर्गतिपरिविशुद्धे		प्रतिनिवर्त्तय
सर्व - -	वरण	विशुद्धे	प्रतिनिवर्त्तय
薩嚩	嚩囉拏	尾秫第引	鉢囉吞底你韈蔑多上野
सर्व - -	वरण	विशुद्धे	प्रतिनिवर्ताय
सर्वकर्मावरण		विशुद्धे	प्रतिनिवर्तय
薩哩嚩葛哩摩嚩囉拏		尾戍提	鉢囉帝你嚩哩多野

- -	आयु - शुद्धे	- - समया - - - धि-
- -	आयु - शुद्धे	- - समया - - - धि-
- -	阿吉引庾秫第引	- - 三麼夜 - - 地
- -	आयु - शुद्धे	- - समय - - - धि-
मम	आयुर्विशुद्धे	महासमयाधिष्ठानाधि-
摩摩	阿欲哩尾戍提	摩賀三摩野提瑟姹那提

ष्ठिते	-	- -	- -	- - - -	- - -	- - -
ष्ठिते	-	- -	- -	- - - -	- - -	- - -
□□□	-	- -	- -	- - - -	- - -	- - -
ष्ठिति	-	- -	- -	- - - -	- - -	- - -
ष्ठिते	ॐ	मुनि	मुनि	महामुनि	विमुनि	विमुनि
瑟耻帝	唵	母你	母你	摩賀母你	尾母你	尾母你

- - - - - -	मणि	५	महामणि	- - -	- -
- - - - - -	मणि	मणि	- - - -	- - -	- -
- - - - - -	麼抳	麼抳	- - - -	- - -	- -
- - - - - -	मणि	मणि	- - - -	- - -	- -
महाविमुनि	मति	मति	महामति	ममति	महा-
摩賀尾母你	末底	末底	摩賀末底	摩摩底	摩賀

- - -	- - -	तथता	भूतकोटिपरिशुद्धे
- - -	- - -	तथता	भूतकोटिपरिशुद्धे
- - -	- - -	□□□	部多句引置跛哩秫第引
- - -	- - -	तथात	भूतकटिपरिशुद्धे
ममति	सुमति	तथात	भूतकोटिपरिशुद्धे
摩摩底	蘇摩底	怛闥多	普多酤胝鉢哩戍提

विस्फुटबुद्धिशुद्धे		-	-	-	जय	२	विजय
विस्फुटबधिशुद्धे		-	-	-	जाय	जाय	विजाय
□□□□□□□□		-	-	-	□□	□□	□惹野
विस्फुटबधि	शुद्धे	-	-	-	जय	जय	विजय
विस्फुटबुद्धे	शुद्धे	ॐ	हे	हे	जय	जय	विजय
尾塞普吒沒提	戍提	唵	係	係	惹野	惹野	尾惹野

२	स्मर	५	- -	- -	- - -
विजाय	स्मर	स्मर	- -	- -	- - -
尾惹野	娑麽㖿囉	娑麽□	- -	- -	- - -
विजय	स्मर	स्मर	- -	- -	- - -
विजय	स्मर	स्मर	स्फर	स्फर	स्फरय
尾惹野	三摩囉	三摩囉	颯頗囉	颯頗囉	颯頗囉野

- - -	सर्वबुद्धा - - -	धिष्ठित	-
- - -	सर्वबुद्धा - - -	धिष्ठिति	-
- - -	□□□□	□□□□	
- - -	सर्वबुद्धा - - -	धिष्ठिति	-
स्फरय	सर्वबुद्धाधिष्ठानाधिष्ठिति		ओँ
颯頗囉野	薩哩嚩沒馱提瑟姹那提瑟耻帝		唵

शुद्धे	- -	वज्री	- -	- - - -
- -	- -	वज्रे	वज्रे	- - - -
- -	- -	□□□	嚩日隸[二合引]	- - - -
शुद्धे	- -	वज्रि	वज्र	- - - -
शुद्धे	शुद्धे	वज्रे	वज्रे	महावज्रे
戍提	戍提	嚩[口*爾]哩	嚩[口*爾]哩	摩賀嚩[口*爾]哩

- - -	वज्रागर्भे - -	- - - - -
- - -	वज्रगर्भे - -	- - - - -
- - -	嚩日囉㖿蘖陛	- - - - -
- - -	- - - - - -	- - - - -
सुवज्रे	वज्रगर्भेजय	गर्भेविजय
蘇嚩[口*爾]哩	嚩惹囉誐哩毗惹野	誐哩毗惹野

- - - - - -	- - - - - -
- - - - - -	- - - - - -
- - - - - -	- - - - - -
- - - - - -	गर्भे - - -
गर्भवज्रज्वल	गर्भवज्रोद्भव
誐哩毗嚩惹囉入嚩囉	誐哩毗嚩惹嚕捺婆尾

- - - - -	- -	- -	- वज्रं
- - - - -	- -	- -	- वज्रा
- - - - -	- -	- -	- 嚩日𡃤㖿
- - - - -	- -	- -	- वज्रं
वज्रसंभवे	वज्रे	वज्रे	णिवज्रं
嚩惹囉三婆尾	嚩[口*爾]哩	嚩[口*爾]哩	尼嚩惹𡃤

भवतु	मम	शरिरं	सर्वसत्वानां	च	काय-
भवतु	मम	- - -	सर्वसत्वानां	च	काय
□□□	□□	- - -	□□□□難[去引]	左	迦[引]野
भवतु	मम	- - -	सर्वसत्वानां	च	काय
भवन्तु	मम	शरीरं	सर्वसत्वानाञ्च		काय
婆嚩覩	摩摩	設哩𡃤	薩哩嚩薩唾喃	左	歌野

परिविशुद्धे - - - -	-	- -	सर्वगति-
- - विशुद्धे - - - -	-	- -	सर्वग(ति-
- - 尾秫第	-	- -	薩嚩誐底
- - विशुद्धे - - - -	-	- -	- - - -
परिशुद्धेश्वर्भवन्तु	मे	सद्ब	सर्वगति-
鉢哩戍提室左哩娑挽覩	彌	薩捺	薩哩嚩誐底

परिशुद्धे ˋ सर्वतथागतश्च मे सम-
परिशुद्धे ˋ सर्वत)थागत ˋ समा-
跛哩□□ˋ □□□他去蘖多ˋ 三去麽背
ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ सर्वतथागत ˋ सम-
परिशुद्धिश्च सर्वतथागतश्च सम-
鉢哩戍提室左 薩哩嚩怛佗誐多室左 薩摩

श्च सयंतो सर्वतथगतासमश्च साधिष्ठिते बुद्ध ५
श्च साधिष्ठिते बु(द्ध बुद्ध
濕嚩畬 娑他瑟□帝引 □□ □□
श्च साधिष्ठिति बुद्ध बुद्ध
श्वा सयन्तु बुद्ध बुद्ध
設嚩 薩演覩 沒亭夜 沒亭夜

विबुद्ध २ बोधय २ विबोधय ५
ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ बोद्धाय बोद्धाय) ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ
ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ □□□ □□□ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ
ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ बोद्धाय बोद्धाय ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ
सिध्य सिध्य बोधय बोधय विबोधय विबोधय
悉亭夜 悉亭夜 冒馱野 冒馱野 尾冒馱野 尾冒馱野

ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ
ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ
ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ
ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ
मोचय मोचय विमोचय विमोचय शोधय शोधय
謨左野 謨左野 尾謨左野 尾謨左野 輸馱野 輸馱野

ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ
ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ
ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ
ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ
विशोधय विशोधय समन्त मोचय मोचय
尾輸馱野 尾輸馱野 三滿多 謨左野 謨左野

समन्ता ˋ ˋ परिशुद्धे सर्वतथागता ˋ ˋ
समन्त ˋ ˋ परिशुद्धे सर्व(तथागत ˋ ˋ
三去滿多 跛哩秫□ 薩嚩□□□□ ˋ ˋ
समात ˋ ˋ परिशुद्धे सर्वतथागत ˋ ˋ
समन्तरश्मिपरिशुद्धे सर्वतथागत मम
三滿多囉濕彌鉢哩戍提 薩哩嚩怛佗誐多 摩摩

हृदयाधिष्ठानाधिष्ठिते ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ
ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ धिष्ठिते) ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ
ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ □□□□ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ
ˋ ˋ ˋ धिष्ठानाधिष्ठित ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ
हृदयाधिष्ठानाधिष्ठिते ऒँ मुद्रे मुद्रे
紇哩捺野提瑟姹那提瑟耻帝 唵 母捺哩 母捺哩

महामुद्रे ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ स्वाहा ५ आर्य उ-
महामुद्रे ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ स्वाहा ˋ ˋ
麽賀引□捺嚟畬 ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ 娑嚩畬賀 ˋ ˋ
महामुद्रे ˋ ˋ ˋ ˋ स्वाहा ॥ ˋ ˋ
महामुद्रे मन्त्रपदे स्वाहा आर्यो-
摩賀母捺囉 滿怛囉鉢禰 莎賀 阿哩瑜

ष्णीषविजय	नम	धारणि	- - - -
- - - - -	- -	- - -	- - - -
- - - - -	- -	- - -	- - - -
- - - - -	- -	- - -	- - - -
ष्णीषविजय	नाम	धारणी	महामुद्रे
瑟膩沙尾惹野	那摩	陀羅尼	摩賀母捺哩

समप्तं
- - -
- - -
- - -
समप्ता
薩摩鉢多

उपभिक्षुसग्रतथवन्दलिखं[1]

[1] This line is given in the Asakusa text only, and probably contains the name of the writer.

LIST OF DOCUMENTS MENTIONED IN THE PRECEDING PAGES.

1. Text of the Pragñâ-pâramitâ-hridaya-sûtra and the Ushnîsha-vigaya-dhâranî.

No. 1. Photograph of the palm-leaves of Hôriuzi.
„ 2. Copy in the Asharagio. See Catal. Bodl. Japan., No. 46 a.
„ 3. Facsimile sent by H. E. Iwakura. See ditto, No. 45 b.
„ 4. Photograph of *Z*iogon's copy.
„ 5. Old text of H*ri*daya-sûtra only, in Hôkiô's book. } Sent by Mr. Ishikawa, now belonging to Prof. M. M.
„ 6. Corrected text, in ditto. }
„ 7. Text in Hôgo's book. See Catal. Bodl. Japan., No. 37.
„ 8. Copy of the H*ri*daya-sûtra, sent by Mr. Satow. See Catal., No. 61.
„ 9. Copy of the H*ri*daya-sûtra and the Dhâra*n*î, sent by H. E. Iwakura. See Catal., No. 62.

N.B. The last two copies do not seem to have been made directly from the palm-leaves.

No. 10. Copy of both texts, sent by Kanematsu and Ôta. See Catal. Bodl. Japan., No. 63 a, b.

This copy was made by K. and Ô. with the help of *Z*iogon's copy, and after consulting the palm-leaves. See Introduction to the Vag*r*a*kkh*edikâ, p. 5.

2. Chinese Translations of the Shorter Text of the Pragñâ-pâramitâ-hridaya-sûtra.

1. A.D. 400, by Kumâra*g*îva, in Cat. of Buddh. Tripi*t*aka, by B. N., No. 19.
2. „ 649, by Hiouen-thsang, ibid., No. 20.

(The shorter text is said to have been brought to Japan in A. D. 609.)

3. Chinese Translations of the Fuller Text.

1. A. D. 785–810, by Prag*ñ*a. Not found in the India Office Collection.
2. „ 980–1000, by Sh'-hu (Dânapâla?), Cat. Buddh. Trip., No. 935.

(The fuller text is said to have been brought to Japan about A. D. 850.)

V.

THE TWO TEXTS OF THE PRA*GÑ*Â-PÂRAMITÂ-H*RI*DAYA-SÛTRA.

Although the interest of the documents published in the preceding pages is purely archæological, and, to a certain extent, historical, it may be useful to add here a translation of the two texts, the smaller and larger, of the Pra*gñ*â-pâramitâ-h*ri*daya-sûtra. The smaller is an abstract of the larger, but even the larger text is only a very short epitome of the doctrines developed in the Pra*gñ*âpâramitâ, and therefore hardly to be rendered intelligible by means of a translation.

PRA*GÑ*Â-PÂRAMITÂ-H*RI*DAYA-SÛTRA.

SHORTER TEXT RESTORED.

॥ नमः सर्वज्ञाय ॥

Adoration to the Omniscient!

आर्यावलोकितेश्वरबोधिसत्त्वो गंभीरायां प्रज्ञापारमितायां चर्यां चरमाणो व्यवलोकयति स्म। पंच स्कंधाः तांश्च स्वभावशून्यान्पश्यति स्म।

The venerable Bodhisattva Avalokite*s*vara, performing his study in the deep Pra*gñ*âpâramitâ (perfection of wisdom), thought thus: 'There are the five Skandhas, and these he considered as by their nature empty (phenomenal).'

इह शारिपुत्र रूपं शून्यता शून्यतैव रूपं रूपान्न पृथक् शून्यता शून्यताया न पृथग्रूपं यद्रूपं सा शून्यता या शून्यता तद्रूपं।

'O *S*âriputra,' he said, 'form here is emptiness, and emptiness indeed is form. Emptiness is not different from form, form is not different from emptiness. What is form that is emptiness, what is emptiness that is form.'

एवमेव वेदनासंज्ञासंस्कारविज्ञानानि।

'The same applies to perception, name, conception, and knowledge.'

इह शारिपुत्र सर्वधर्माः शून्यतालक्षणा अनुत्पन्ना अनिरुद्धा अमला न विमला नोना न परिपूर्णाः। तस्माच्छारिपुत्र शून्यतायां न रूपं न वेदना न संज्ञा न संस्कारा न विज्ञानानि। न चक्षुः श्रोत्रघ्राणजिह्वाकायमनांसि। न रूपशब्दगंधरसस्प्रष्टव्यधर्माः।

'Here, O *S*âriputra, all things have the character of emptiness, they have no beginning, no end, they are faultless and not faultless, they are not imperfect and not perfect. Therefore, O *S*âriputra, in this emptiness there is no form, no perception, no name, no concepts, no knowledge. No eye, ear, nose, tongue, body, mind. No form, sound, smell, taste, touch, objects.'

न चक्षुर्धातुर्यावन्न मनोधातुः।

'There is no eye,' etc., till we come to 'there is no mind.'

(What is left out here are the eighteen Dhâtus or aggregates, viz. eye, form, vision; ear, sound, hearing; nose, odour, smelling; tongue, flavour, tasting; body, touch, feeling; mind, objects, thought.)

न विद्या नाविद्या न विद्याक्षयो नाविद्याक्षयो यावन्न जरामरणं न जरामरणक्षयो न दुःखसमुदयनिरोधमार्गा न ज्ञानं न प्राप्तित्वं।

'There is no knowledge, no ignorance, no destruction of knowledge, no destruction of ignorance,' etc., till we come to 'there is no decay and death, no destruction of decay and death; there are not (the four truths, viz. that there) is pain, origin of pain, stoppage of pain, and the path to it. There is no knowledge, no obtaining (of Nirvâ*n*a).'

बोधिसत्त्वस्य प्रज्ञापारमितामाश्रित्य विहरति चित्तावरणः। चित्तावरणनास्तित्वादत्रस्तो विपर्यासातिक्रांतो निष्ठनिर्वाणः।

'A man who has approached the Pra*gñ*âpâramitâ of the Bodhisattva dwells enveloped in consciousness [1]. But when the envelopment of consciousness has been annihilated, then he becomes free of all fear, beyond the reach of change, enjoying final Nirvâ*n*a.'

त्र्यध्वव्यवस्थिताः सर्वबुद्धाः प्रज्ञापारमितामाश्रित्यानुत्तरां सम्यक्संबोधिमभिसंबुद्धाः।

'All Buddhas of the past, present, and future, after approaching the Pra*gñ*âpâramitâ, have awoke to the highest perfect knowledge.'

तस्माज्ज्ञातव्यो प्रज्ञापारमितामहामंत्रो महाविद्यामंत्रोऽनुत्तरमंत्रोऽसमसममंत्रः सर्वदुःखप्रशमनः सत्यममिथ्यत्वात् प्रज्ञापारमितायामुक्तो मंत्रः। तद्यथा गते गते पारगते पारसंगते बोधि स्वाहा।

'Therefore one ought to know the great verse of the Pra*gñ*âpâramitâ, the verse of the great wisdom, the unsurpassed verse, the peerless verse, which appeases all pain—it is truth, because it is not false—the verse proclaimed in the Pra*gñ*âpâramitâ: O wisdom, gone, gone, gone to the other shore, landed at the other shore, Svâhâ!'

॥ इति प्रज्ञापारमिताहृदयं समाप्तं ॥

Thus ends the heart of the Pra*gñ*âpâramitâ.

[1] See Childers, s. v. *k*ittam.

PRA*GÑ*Â-PÂRAMITÂ-H*RI*DAYA-SÛTRA.

LARGER TEXT RESTORED.

A copy of this fuller text was sent to me from Japan by two young priests, Kanematsu and Ôta (see Anecdota Oxoniensia, Âryan Series, vol. i, part i, pp. 6–7), and received at Oxford the 7th of October, 1880. It is the copy of a copy, preserved at a large monastery, generally called Hasedera, of the Shingon sect at Hase in Yamato, and contains, besides the text, a Chinese translation and transliteration made, during the Thang dynasty, by an Indian priest, called Pra*gñ*a, of Kipin or Cabul, who also translated a chapter of the Buddhâvata*m*sakavaipulyasûtra, A.D. 796–798. The original is believed to have been brought from China by a Japanese priest, Yeun, one of the ten great disciples of Kukai (died A. D. 835), the founder of the Shingon sect in Japan, and was preserved among the treasures in a monastery called Shio *k*iin, on the mountain Kôya, in the province of Kii. The copy is now deposited in the Bodleian Library; see Cat. Bodl. Japan., No. 63. I quote it as J.

Nearly the same text is also to be found in the 'Chinese Collection of Sanskrit Texts,' under the title of Âryapa*ñk*avi*ms*atikâ-Bhagavatî-Pra*gñ*âpâramitâh*ri*dayam. I quote it as W.

॥ नमः सर्वज्ञाय ॥

एवं मया श्रुतं। एकस्मिन्समये भगवान्राजगृहे विहरति स्म गृध्रकूटे पर्वते महता भिक्षुसंघेन सार्धं महता च बोधिसत्त्वसंघेन[1]। तेन[2] खलु समयेन भगवान्गंभीरावसंबोधं[3] नाम समाधिं समापन्नः। तेन च समयेनार्यावलोकितेश्वरो बोधिसत्त्वो महासत्त्वो [4]गंभीरायां प्रज्ञापारमितायां चर्यां चरमाण एवं व्यवलोकयति स्म। [5]पंच स्कंधास्तांश्च स्वभावशून्यं व्यवलोकयति। [6]अथायुष्माञ्छा-

[1] गणेन W. [2] पुनः W. [3] बोधनमसमधिं J. गंभीरावभासं नाम धर्मपर्यायं भाषित्वा समधिं W. [4] गंभीरावभासं नाम धर्मपर्यायं व्यव° W. [5] From पंच to कयति left out in W. [6] अथ खल्वा° W.

रिपुत्रो बुद्धानुभावेनार्यावलोकितेश्वरं बोधिसत्त्व[1]मेतदवोचत्। यः[2] कश्चित्कुलपुत्रो[3] गंभीरायां प्रज्ञापारमिता[4]यां चर्यां चर्तुकामः कथं शिक्षितव्यः। एवमुक्त आर्यावलोकितेश्वरो बोधिसत्त्वो महासत्त्व आयुष्मंतं शारिपुत्रमेतदवोचत्। [5]यः कश्चिच्छारिपुत्र कुलपुत्रो वा कुलदुहिता वा[6] गंभीरायां प्रज्ञापारमितायां चर्यां[7] चर्तुकामस्तेनैवं [8]व्यवलोकयितव्यं। पंच[9] स्कंधास्तांश्च स्वभावशून्यान्समनुपश्यति स्म। [10]रूपं शून्यता शून्यतैव रूपं। रूपान्न पृथक् शून्यता शून्यताया न पृथग्रूपं। यद्रूपं सा शून्यता या शून्यता तद्रूपं। एवं वेदनासंज्ञासंस्कारविज्ञानानि च शून्यता[11]। एवं शारिपुत्र सर्वधर्मा [12]शून्यतालक्षणा [13]अनुत्पन्ना अनिरुद्धा अमला विमला अनूना[14] असंपूर्णाः। तस्मात्तर्हि शारिपुत्र शून्यतायां न रूपं न वेदना न संज्ञा न संस्कारा न विज्ञानं। न चक्षुर्न श्रोत्रं न घ्राणं न जिह्वा न कायो न मनो न रूपं न शब्दो न गंधो न रसो न [15]स्प्रष्टव्यं न धर्माः। न चक्षुर्धातुर्यावन्न [16]मनोधातुर्न धर्मधातुर्न मनोविज्ञानधातुः॥ न विद्या नाविद्या न क्षयो

[1] W. adds महासत्त्वं. [2] यत्क° W. [3] त्रो वा कुलदुहिता वास्यां गं° W. [4] ताया चर्तुकमस्तेन कथं शिक्षितव्यं W. [5] यत्क° W. [6] वास्यां गंभीरायां W. [7] Deest in W. [8] शिक्षितव्यं यदुत W. [9] पंच स्कंधाः स्वभावशून्याः कथं पंच कंधाः स्वभावशून्याः W. [10] रूपमेव शून्यता शून्यतैव रूपं। न रूपं पृथक् शून्यतायाः नापि शून्यता पृथग्रूपात् एवं W. [11] च शून्यता deest in W. [12] स्वभावशू° W. [13] अजाता अनु° W. [14] अनोना J. [15] न स्प्रष्टव्यं न धर्माः W. न स्प्रष्टव्य न धर्म J. [16] Instead of यावन्न मनोधातुर्न (धर्मधातुर्न left out in J.) मनोविज्ञानधातुः W. writes out the whole list of Dhâtus, viz. न चक्षुर्धातुर्न रूपधातुर्न चक्षुर्विज्ञानधातुः। न श्रोत्रधातुर्न शब्दधातुर्न श्रोत्रविज्ञानधातुः। न घ्राणधातुर्न गंधधातुर्न घ्राणविज्ञानधातुः। न जिह्वाधातुर्न रसधातुर्न जिह्वाविज्ञानधातुः। न कायधातुर्न स्प्रष्टव्यधातुर्न कायविज्ञानधातुः। न मनोधातुर्न धर्मधातुर्न मनोविज्ञानधातुः।

यावन्न जरामरणं न जरामरणक्षयः। न दुःखसमुदयनिरोधमार्गा

From here the text in W. differs so much from J. that it will be better to print them separately:

J.

न ज्ञानं न प्राप्तिर्नाप्राप्तिः। तस्माच्छारिपुत्र अप्राप्तित्वेन बोधिसत्त्वानां प्रज्ञापारिमितामाश्रित्य विहरति चित्तावरणः। चित्तावरणनास्तित्वादत्रस्तो विपर्यासातिक्रांतो निष्ठनिर्वाणः। त्र्यध्वव्यस्थिता सर्वबुद्धाः प्रज्ञापारमितामाश्रित्यानुत्तरां सम्यक्संबोधिमभिसंबुद्धाः। तस्माज्ज्ञातव्यः प्रज्ञापारमितामहामंत्रो महाविद्यामंत्रोऽनुत्तरमंत्रोऽसमसममंत्रः सर्वदुःखप्रशमनमंत्रः सत्यममिथ्यत्वात् प्रज्ञापारमितायामुक्तो मंत्रः। तद्यथा। गते गते पारगते पारसंगते बोधि स्वाहा॥

एवं शारिपुत्र गंभीरायां प्रज्ञापारमितायां चर्यायां शिक्षि-

W.

न रूपं न ज्ञानं न प्राप्तिर्नाप्राप्तिः। तस्मात्तर्हि शारिपुत्र अप्राप्तिताप्राप्तिर्यावत्प्रज्ञापारमितामाश्रित्य विहरंश्चित्तालंबनं नास्तित्वादत्रस्तो विपर्यासातिक्रांतो निष्ठानिर्वाणं प्रप्नुति। त्र्यध्वव्यवस्थितैरपि सम्यक्संबुद्धैः प्रज्ञापारमितामाश्रित्यानुत्तरा सम्यक्संबोधिः प्राप्ता। एतस्माज्ज्ञातव्यः प्रज्ञापारमितामंत्रो विद्यामंत्रोऽनुत्तरो मंत्रः सर्वदुःखप्रशमनो मंत्रः सम्यक्त्वं न मिथ्यात्वं प्रज्ञापारमितायुक्तो मंत्रः। तद्यथा। गते गते पारगते पारसंगते बोधि स्वाहा॥

एवं शारिपुत्र बोधिसत्त्वेन महासत्त्वेन प्रज्ञापारमितायां शि-

तव्यं बोधिसत्त्वेन। अथ खलु
भगवान् तस्मात्समाधेर्व्युत्था-
यार्यावलोकितेश्वरस्य बोधि-
सत्त्वस्य साधुकारमदात्। साधु
साधु कुलपुत्र एवमेतत्कुल-
पुत्र। एवमेतद्गंभीरायां प्र-
ज्ञापारमितायां चर्यं चर्तव्यं
यथा त्वया निर्दिष्टमनुमोद्यते
तथागतैरर्हद्भिः[1]। इदमवोचद्भ-
गवानानंदमना आयुष्मान्छा-
रिपुत्र आर्यावलोकितेश्वरश्च
बोधिसत्त्वः सा च सर्वावती प-
र्षत्सदेवमानुषासुरगंधर्वश्च लो-
को भगवतो भाषितमभ्यनंदन्
इति प्रज्ञापारमिताहृदयसूत्रं
समाप्तं॥

क्षितव्यं। अथ खलु भगवां-
स्तस्यां वेलायां तस्मात्समाधे-
र्व्युत्थायायावलोकितेश्वराय बो-
धिसत्त्वाय महासत्त्वाय साधु-
कारमदात्। साधु साधु कुलपुत्र
एवमेतत्कुलपुत्र एवमेतत्। एव-
मेवैषा प्रज्ञापारमिता यथा त्व-
या निर्दिष्टानुमोद्यते सर्वतथा-
गतैरर्हद्भिः सम्यक्संबुद्धैः। इद-
मवोचद्भगवानात्तमना आर्या-
वलोकितेश्वरो बोधिसत्त्वो म-
हासत्त्वस्ते च भिक्षवस्ते च बो-
धिसत्त्वा महासत्त्वाः स च सर्वा-
वती पर्षत्सदेवमानुषासुरगरु-
डगंधर्वश्च लोको भगवतो भा-
षितमभ्यनंदन्निति॥ आर्यपंचा-
विंशतिका भगवती प्रज्ञापार-
मिताहृदयं॥

[1] अनुमोद्य तथागते कृतिः J.

TRANSLATION OF THE LARGER PRAGÑÂPÂRAMITÂ.

Adoration to the Omniscient!

This I heard. At one time the Bhagavat dwelt at Râgagriha, on the hill Gridhrakûta, together with a large number of Bhikshus and a large number of Bodhisattvas.

At that time the Bhagavat was absorbed in a meditation, called Gambhîrâvasambodha. And at the same time the great Bodhisattva Âryâvalokitesvara, performing his study in the deep Pragñâpâramitâ, thought thus: 'There are the five Skandhas, and those he considered as something by their nature empty.'

Then the venerable Sâriputra, through Buddha's power, thus spoke to the Bodhisattva Âryâvalokitesvara: 'If the son or daughter of a family wishes to perform the study in the deep Pragñâpâramitâ, how is he to be taught?'

On this the great Bodhisattva Âryâvalokitesvara thus spoke to the venerable Sâriputra: 'If the son or daughter of a family wish to perform the study in the deep Pragñâpâramitâ, he must think thus:

There are five Skandhas, and these he considered as by their nature empty. Form is emptiness, and emptiness indeed is form. Emptiness is not different from form, form is not different from emptiness. What is form that is emptiness, what is emptiness that is form. Thus perception, name, conception, and knowledge also are emptiness. Thus, O Sâriputra, all things have the character of emptiness, they have no beginning, no end, they are faultless and not faultless, they are not imperfect and not perfect. Therefore, O Sâriputra, here in this emptiness there is no form, no perception, no name, no concepts, no knowledge. No eye, ear, nose, tongue, body, and mind. No form, sound, smell, taste, touch, and objects. There is no eye, etc., till we come to there is no mind, no objects, no mind-knowledge. There is no knowledge, no ignorance, no destruction (of ignorance), till we come to there is no decay and death, no destruction of decay and death; there are not (the four truths, viz.) that there is pain, origin of pain, stoppage of pain, and the path to it. There is no knowledge, no obtaining, no not-

obtaining of Nirvâ*n*a. Therefore, O *S*âriputra, as there is no obtaining (of Nirvâ*n*a), a man who has approached the Pra*g*ñâpâramitâ of the Bodhisattvas, dwells (for a time) enveloped in consciousness. But when the envelopment of consciousness has been annihilated, then he becomes free of all fear, beyond the reach of change, enjoying final Nirvâ*n*a.

All Buddhas of the past, present, and future, after approaching the Pra*g*ñâpâramitâ, have awoke to the highest perfect knowledge.

Therefore we ought to know the great verse of the Pra*g*ñâpâramitâ, the verse of the great wisdom, the unsurpassed verse, the verse which appeases all pain—it is truth, because it is not false[1]—the verse proclaimed in the Pra*g*ñâpâramitâ[2]: "O wisdom, gone, gone, gone to the other shore, landed at the other shore, Svâhâ!"

Thus, O *S*âriputra, should a Bodhisattva teach in the study of the deep Pra*g*ñâpâramitâ.'

Then when the Bhagavat had risen from that meditation, he gave his approval to the venerable Bodhisattva Avalokite*s*vara, saying, 'Well done, well done, noble son! So it is, noble son. So indeed must this study of the deep Pra*g*ñâpâramitâ be performed. As it has been described by thee, it is applauded by Arhat Tathâgatas.' Thus spake Bhagavat with joyful mind. And the venerable *S*âriputra, and the honourable Bodhisattva Avalokite*s*vara, and the whole assembly, and the world of gods, men, demons, and fairies praised the speech of the Bhagavat.

Here ends the Pra*g*ñâpâramitâh*ri*dayasûtra.

The teaching of the Pra*g*ñâpâramitâ, as here epitomised, can only be understood in connection with the ordinary teaching of Buddhism. If literally translated, it seems often utterly unmeaning. But it is in reality but one of the many attempts in philosophy to express the purely phenomenal or unreal character of all human knowledge. Kant, literally translated into Sanskrit, would be as unmeaning to Buddhist Bodhisattvas as the Pra*g*ñâpâramitâ, turned into English, is to us.

The text begins with denying the reality of the Skandhas. Skandha is a name which has perplexed both the followers and the students of Buddhism. It is, I think, best explained by râ*s*i[3], collection, but I

[1] It is truth, not falsehood, W. [2] Fit for obtaining Pra*g*ñâpâramitâ, W.
[3] Burnouf, Introduction, p. 512.

believe in our modern way of thinking and speaking, a collective or abstract suffix, or a simple plural termination, would express it more correctly when it is used in such compounds as rûpa-skandha, vedanâ-skandha, sa*m*g*ñ*â-skandha, sa*m*skâra-skandha, vi*g*ñâna-skandha. These five skandhas constitute what we should call the consciousness of an intelligent subject, because an intelligent subject presupposes for its very existence five things, viz. (1) forms or diversities that can be perceived, (2) every kind of perception, (3) every kind of name, (4) every kind of concept, (5) every kind of knowledge. Almost every writer on Buddhism has given his own interpretation of these terms. To my mind they are nothing but the essential conditions of consciousness and knowledge. There can be no conscious knowledge without rûpa, i. e. forms, or objects differing from each other, and capable of becoming the objects of perception. These rûpas are generally reckoned as twenty-eight, such as earth, water, fire, air; eye, ear, nose, tongue, body; colour, sound, scent, flavour; female sex, male sex, vital force, heart, gesture, speech, ether; lightness, softness, pliability, accumulation, extension, decay, impermanence, material food. Altogether the rûpas may be said to constitute the external or objective world, including the organised body of man.

On the other side we have Vedanâ, sensuous perception, followed by sa*m*g*ñ*â, the process of naming (λόγος). This again is the conditio sine qua non of sa*m*skâra, concepts, and from them arises vi*g*ñâna, knowledge. Sometimes these four conditions are comprehended under the name of nâma, name, λόγος; and Nâma-rûpa thus becomes a term, designating the conscious individual, consisting as we should say of body and mind, or of objective impressions and subjective apprehension.

All this which represents the result of Buddhist psychological thought, is here declared to be *s*ûnya, empty, conditioned, relative, phenomenal. All things, as known to us, all dharmas, are, according to the Pra*g*ñâpâramitâ, not real in the highest sense, but phenomenal only, subjective, temporal, and passing away.

The lists of these psychological terms are so well known in Buddhist literature that, in order to avoid constant repetition, we often find the expression yâvat, i. e. from this till we come to that. So when the Dhâtus or the elements constituting sight, etc., come to be mentioned, one text says, 'Not the Eye-dhâtu, i. e. there is no eye-element, till we

come to there is no mind-element.' The other text (W.) gives the whole list. I had to insert na dharmadhâtu*h*, because between manodhâtu*h*, the whole of the mind, and manovi*gñ*ânadhâtu*h*, the whole of the knowledge gained by the mind, the writer must have left out dharmadhâtu*h*, i. e. the whole of the individual objects cognisable by the mind. What follows afterwards refers to the well-known pratîtyasamutpâda, the chain of causation which exists in the world, and which it is the object of Buddha's teaching to stop. Here too almost every scholar has proposed a new interpretation. If I add my own, it is only as a contribution to a subject which is as yet far from being fully understood. The chain of causes begins in Buddhism, as in the Upanishads, with—

(1) Avidyâ, ignorance. From it arise
(2) Sa*m*skâra, concepts or ideas. From them arises
(3) Nâmarûpa, the subject-object, as explained before, i. e. rûpa, objects; vedanâ, perception; sa*mgñ*a, naming; vi*gñ*âna, knowing. This is manifested in
(4) Sha*d*âyatana, the six organs of sense, eye, ear, nose, tongue, body, and manas, the common sensory. These being there, there is the possibility of
(5) Spar*s*a, contact between subject and object. From that springs
(6) T*ri*sh*n*â, thirst, desire. From this
(7) Upâdâna, a laying hold of, appropriating, clinging to things, which produces
(8) Bhava, being, existence, subjective relation to objective things. This takes the form of
(9) *G*âti, birth, which is invariably followed by
(10) *G*arâmara*n*a, decay and death, and all the evils of life, i. e. du*h*kha, pain, which, according to Brâhmans as well as Buddhists, is the cause of all philosophy.

The Pra*gñ*âpâramitâ teaches that this chain of causes is empty or apparent only, that there is no such thing as real Avidyâ, ignorance, and, as it adds, no vidyâ either, therefore also no destruction of avidyâ, which is the aim of Buddha's philosophy. This negation of the ten causes and effects is then supposed to be carried on till we come to the tenth, viz. there is not really decay and death, and therefore no destruction of decay and death.

Next follows a negation of the four great truths of Buddhism, viz. that

there exists pain, as the result of the ten causes, that there is a cause for such pain, that the cause of it can be stopped, and that Buddha has pointed out the way to stop it. These four truths constitute knowledge, and lead to Nirvâ*n*a; but, according to the Pra*gñ*âpâramitâ, there is again no such knowledge, and no such obtaining or not-obtaining of Nirvâ*n*a. And as that is so, a man should draw near to Pra*gñ*âpâramitâ, and would then be *k*ittâvara*n*a. This is rendered by the Chinese translators as 'without obstacles arising from thought or consciousness,' i. e. *k*itta-avara*n*a*h*. This may be right, but we may also take it as *k*itta-âvara*n*a*h*, 'enveloped in thoughts and sorrows,' because the text goes on to say, that when this envelopment too has been perceived to be nothing, final, firm, real Nirvâ*n*a is obtained, such as the Pra*gñ*âpâramitâ alone can give.

APPENDIX.

PALAEOGRAPHICAL REMARKS

ON THE

HORIUZI PALM-LEAF MSS.,

BY G. BÜHLER.

PALAEOGRAPHICAL REMARKS ON THE HORIUZI PALM-LEAF MSS.

I.

PROFESSOR Max Müller's discovery of the Horiuzi palm-leaves and the acquisition of trustworthy facsimiles of these documents, which we owe to his sagacity and untiring energy, are events the importance of which for Indian palaeography cannot be estimated too highly. In the first place, the mere fact of their existence puts an end to the doubts and misgivings, entertained by some of the most distinguished Sanskritists, regarding the age of the palm-leaf MSS. found during the last ten years in Nepâl and in Western India. Owing to the curse of uncertainty which seems to attach to most historical and literary documents, purely Indian, the possibility, at least, of doubting the age of the palm-leaves, discovered in India, could hitherto not be denied, in spite of the dates which their colophons very frequently exhibit. The objection, raised by Professor A. Weber and Dr. Burnell, that the dates might have been copied from more ancient originals, and that in some cases the fresh look of the palm-leaves favoured such a supposition, was, though not unanswerable, yet sufficiently plausible to remove the manuscripts from the class of the *ὁμολογούμενα*, and to place them in that of the *ἀντιλεγόμενα*. It was, indeed, possible to answer, as has been ably done by Mr. C. Bendall in his palaeographical introduction to the Catalogue of the Cambridge Collection[1], that the climate of the places where the finds were made, the tradition and the circumstances of the country, the correctness of the historical and astronomical statements contained in the MSS., and the chain of palaeographical and monumental evidence made their genuineness exceedingly probable. But there was not a single one among them regarding which one could say that its age was guaranteed by trustworthy external evidence, and, therefore, absolutely unassailable. This is the point in which the Horiuzi palm-leaves, though undated, are so much superior to all similar documents, and through which they gain a paramount importance for

[1] Catalogue of Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts, p. xvii ff.

the palaeographist. In their case we can say with full confidence[1], 'We have good evidence, showing that these leaves were brought to Japan in 609 A. D., and that they came from China. It is further probable that in China they belonged to the monk Yashi, who died in 577 A. D., and before him to Bodhidharma, who emigrated from India to China in 520 A. D.' Leaving all probabilities aside, it is certain that this MS., which evidently has been written by an Indian scribe, cannot date later than the first half of the sixth century A. D. As it is thus proved that a palm-leaf MS. has lasted more than thirteen hundred years, and, in spite of its transmission from India to China, and from China to Japan, has remained in a very fair condition, and is for the greater part legible, it is no longer reasonable to entertain on general grounds misgivings regarding the age of the Nepâlese Bauddha and the Western India *G*aina MSS., the earliest of which are dated from three to five centuries later. The force of this argument becomes even stronger, if it is taken into consideration that the MSS., belonging to the last two classes, were mostly kept in or near the places where they were written, and frequently left untouched for centuries, as well as that the climate of Nepâl and of the dry plain of Western India is more favourable to the preservation of such documents than that of Japan.

Important as is the service thus rendered to us by the Horiu*z*i palm-leaves, they yield, on closer examination, still more valuable archaeological and palaeographical results. First, they show that the writing materials were exactly the same as those employed later by the Bauddhas and *G*ainas, and that the technical contrivances used by the writer, and his method in forming the letters, partly resemble those still in use among the Indian Lekhakas. Secondly, they prove that in the first half of the sixth century a perfectly developed literary or cursive alphabet was used in Central India, the characters of which are, with the exception of very few letters, identical with those of the most ancient palm-leaf MSS. from Nepâl, while they differ from those of the cognate contemporaneous inscriptions, found in the same parts of India. Where they do not agree with the latter, they mostly show more advanced or more strongly modified forms, which in their turn appear in the inscriptions about two hundred years later, i. e. in the eighth century. Hence it is evident that in this case, at least, we have to reject the

[1] See Professor Max Müller's Letter, printed in the Transactions of the Sixth International Congress of Orientalists at Leiden, pp. 124–128.

commonly received theory[1], according to which the modifications of the characters, used in inscriptions, present a faithful view of the history of the Indian alphabet, and in particular give an ocular demonstration of the gradual development of the literary alphabets. On the contrary it is plain that in this case the characters of the official documents lagged behind those employed for literary purposes, and that they were gradually modified through the influence of the latter. The lesson, taught us by the Horiu*z*i palm-leaves, fully agrees with the precisely similar conclusions, drawn by Professor Dowson, Dr. Burgess, myself, and others from the simultaneous occurrence of archaic and modern-looking letters on a number of copper-plate grants from Gu*g*arât[2], and a comparison of the current handwriting, used on the latter, with the characters of the palm-leaves makes it highly probable that, as early as the beginning of the sixth century, two somewhat differing literary alphabets existed in the northern half of India. These results, which might be further confirmed and expanded by a correct interpretation of certain passages from various ancient works enumerating the names of a great number of Indian alphabets, will force the Indian palaeographists to modify their method of investigation which hitherto was based exclusively on a comparison of the epigraphic alphabets, and henceforth to pay greater regard to those used for literary purposes. In order to make these various points clearer, it will be advisable to subject the Horiu*z*i MS. to a close and detailed examination, and to compare its letters with those of other old MSS., and of the allied inscriptions.

II.

According to the facsimile the Horiu*z*i palm-leaves measure each eleven inches and a half, while their breadth slightly differs. The second (B) is nearly two inches broad. The left half of the first (A) has the same size, but its right half gradually tapers off towards the end, where it measures only one inch and three quarters. The inequality is due to the peeling off of a strip at the lower end, which must have occurred when the leaf was trimmed and prepared for use, because the

[1] This theory is worked out fully, and with seeming success, in Dr. Burnell's Elements of South-Indian Palaeography, the standard work on Indian epigraphy.

[2] Journ. Roy. As. Soc., New Series, IV, 265–266; Ind. Ant., V, 113; XI, 305; XII, 151; XIII, 70; Arch. Rep. W. Ind., IV, 79.

writing in the seventh line stops exactly at the point where the leaf begins to become narrower. These dimensions agree very closely with those found frequently in the Nepâlese and *G*aina palm-leaf MSS., see Bendall, Catalogue, Nos. 1161, 1267, 1648, 1649, 1653, 1657–8, 1662, 1679, 1691, 1699, 1701–8; Kielhorn, Report for 1880–1, Nos. 1, 20, 30, 32, 50, 68, 73. Each leaf shows two small holes, placed three inches from either end, and almost exactly in the middle between the top and the bottom, as they divide the fourth line into three parts. As is known from the usage still prevailing in Southern India, and from the examples found in the ancient Nepâlese and *G*aina palm-leaf MSS., the holes were intended to pass a string which kept the leaves together. One side of each leaf is left blank. This circumstance shows that the two were intended to form a complete diminutive Pothî or manuscript. For according to the Indian custom, observable in ancient and modern MSS., the outer sides of the first and last leaves are not utilised, because the letters would be destroyed by the friction of the wooden boards or metal plates, between which the Pothîs are usually placed.

The number of lines is on the first leaf six and a half, and on the second seven; the number of aksharas or syllables in each line varies between 47 (B. l. 6) and 65 (A. l. 6 and B. l. 2). The lines are so straight and the distances between them have been kept so carefully, that one is led to suspect the writer having had some such contrivance as a wooden board with parallel strings tied across, which the modern copyists of Western India usually place under the thick country-paper in order to be able to keep the line. This circumstance as well as the regularity and neatness of the letters points to the conclusion that the writer was a skilled Lekhaka, while the numerous uncorrected clerical mistakes show that he was not a scholar. The whole style of the writing shows that it has been done with a hard-nibbed pen, possibly a reed-pen, but not with a brush. The same conclusion may be drawn from the appearance of the half-effaced letters, and the look of the latter makes it further very probable that the ink was of the same quality as that used by the *G*aina writers for their ancient palm-leaf MSS. When copying the ancient MS. of the Vikramâṅka*k*arita at *G*esalmîr, I found several passages where, though the ink had been rubbed off, the outlines of the letters were yet recognisable with the help of a magnifying glass[1]. It also happened several times that on my touching a leaf incautiously the ink of one or several letters came off in a cake or dissolved into a fine black powder, leaving the outlines of the aksharas still faintly visible. A great many letters on the Horiu*z*i leaves present exactly the same appearance as the half-effaced characters of the *G*esalmîr MS., while the space between them looks as if it had been blackened by the dust or powder of the rubbed-off ink. It is worthy of note that, if the various copies of the original on plates ii–iv are to be trusted[1], the MS. must have suffered greatly during the last few years. For a number of letters, which the copies give, are illegible on the photograph or have quite disappeared.

In turning to the consideration of the letters, it will be advisable to begin with a remark on a statement, made by *Z*iogon, which seems to reveal their ancient name. He says in the third 'Additional Note,' above, p. 16, 'Among the Mo-ta (Mâtra or vowels[2]) the Fourteen Sounds[3] (of Siddha), the four letters of *ri*, etc. (*rî*, *li*, *lî*) are added. It shows that these are the Brahma letters of Central India.'

[1] Vikramâṅka*k*arita, Introduction, p. 45. If after the ink has been rubbed off, the outlines of the letters remain visible, that is the most certain sign that the MS. has been written with a pen. For that can only happen when small portions of the fluid are forced by pressure into the surface of the leaves.

[1] It was because I did not quite trust these copies that I waited before publishing them till I had received a photograph. My impression is that the copies depended more or less on *Z*iogon's copy or on old wood-blocks preserved in the monasteries. *Z*iogon, who lived two hundred years ago, could evidently read many letters which we can only guess at. The wear and tear of the palm-leaves need not therefore be ascribed to the last few years.—F. M. M.

[2] Mota, I think, ought to be rendered in Sanskrit not by Mâtrâ, but by Mât*ri*kâ, 'matrix.' For initial vowels cannot be called Mâtrâ, which either means aksharâvayava 'mora,' or denotes the e-stroke. Mât*ri*kâ, on the other hand, is the technical name of the var*n*asamâmnâya or the whole alphabet, as taught in the indigenous schools (lekha*s*âlâs or pâ*th*a*s*âlâs) of India, and also of each individual sign (mat*ri*kâkshara) or spoken syllable (mât*ri*kâpada), occurring in this alphabet. The former meaning of mât*ri*kâ is given by Hema*k*andra, see the Petersburg Dictionary, sub voce, where, owing to a misprint in the Calcutta edition of the Anekârthakosha, a second erroneous meaning, svara, 'vowel,' has been added (Zachariae, Lexicographische Beiträge, p. 85, correction of H. an. III, 81). The second meaning occurs in the introductory verse of the Mât*ri*kâkosha, published in Phateh-Nârâya*n*asi*m*ha's Twelve Koshas, Benares, *S*aka, 1787. It is also given in Molesworth's Marâ*th*î Dictionary.

[3] This curious expression, which *Z*iogon uses also, p. 14, in his description of the contents of the leaves, refers, I think, to a division of the letters into fourteen groups of sounds identical with or similar to that which we find in the fourteen Mâhe*s*vara Sûtras of Pâ*n*ini.

The name Brahma letters, i. e. brahmâksharâ*n*i or brâhmî lipi which *Z*iogon thus assigns to the characters of the Horiu*z*i palm-leaves, has a double meaning. It may denote all Indian writing, because according to an ancient myth the invention of the alphabet is ascribed to Brahman, the creator. This story is explicitly mentioned by Hiouen Thsang, Mémoires, I, p. 71, and in the fragments of the B*ri*haspati Sm*ri*ti[1]. Its existence is also implied by Al-Bêrûnî's remark that the invention of the Indian alphabet was 'une révélation du ciel[2],' as well as by the customary representation of Brahman in pictures and sculptures where he holds an inscribed leaf or book in one of his hands[3]. But the term brâhmî lipi has also a more restricted meaning, and denotes a particular Indian alphabet in the well-known passage of the Lalita-vistara, p. 143 (Calcutta edition)[4]. Both these significations are apparent in the interesting passages from the *G*aina Âgamas, quoted and discussed by Professor Weber, Indische Studien, XVI, pp. 280, 399–401, where it is said that the bambhî livî (brâhmî lipi) has eighteen varieties, the first of which is again called bambhî. If *Z*iogon took his expression in this restricted sense, and if the tradition on which he based his assertion is trustworthy, it may be that he teaches us the precise meaning of an ancient term which hitherto was no more than an empty name.

The palaeographical character of the alphabet of the Horiu*z*i palm-leaves is determined chiefly by the following general principles, visible in the formation of the letters: 1. the separation of the aksharas from each other; 2. a predilection for the use of small wedges, the so-called nail-heads; 3. the substitution of flat tops for the angular or round ones of the old alphabets; 4. the development of right-hand verticals, projecting beyond the body of the letters; 5. the retention of open tops wherever they existed in the old letters.

The separation of the aksharas was, I think, carried through in all cases, though some letters, e. g. of A. l. 6, look on the photograph as if they were connected. But it seems to me that this appearance is merely due to the conversion of the ink-crust into a fine powder which stained the surrounding parts of the leaf. The custom of keeping the aksharas

[1] Führer, Darstellung der Lehre von den Schriften bei B*ri*haspati, vs. 2.

[2] Reinaud, Mémoire, p. 297.

[3] See e. g. Moore, Hindu Pantheon, plate i, where however an incorrect explanation of the attribute is given in the text.

[4] See also Foucaux's French translation of the Tibetan text, p. 122.

separate in small blocks prevails in all the ancient inscriptions and in the oldest palm-leaf MSS.[1] It may also be noticed in many later, even Devanâgarî paper MSS., where the writers have not been over-anxious to save space, or have not cared to prolong the horizontal top-strokes beyond the edges of the letters.

The wedges, which perhaps are the most characteristic point in this alphabet, are employed in various ways. They are placed at the top of the down-stroke or, if the letter has several down-strokes, at the top of the left-hand one. In this manner they are used in forty-one, or, if the copies on plates ii–iv, which alone give the letter lla*m*[2], may be trusted, in forty-two, out of the fifty-one characters of the alphabet. Another use to which the wedges are put, is to mark the end of horizontal strokes, as in the letters *n*a, *g*a, and *t*a, or the lower end of down-strokes as in kha, ga (left-hand limbs), *gh*a, and ra. Finally they serve as substitutes for curved or broken lines in the left-hand limbs of bha and sa. In the two latter cases, the top of the wedge is turned sideways or downwards. It is evident that the primary object of their employment at the top of down-strokes was to clearly define the end, to make the letters regular, and to mark the line. Various expedients have been tried by the ancient Hindus in order to effect these purposes. The oldest and simplest, which probably is the parent of the rest, consists in the addition of a small horizontal line, the so-called serif, to the top of the down-strokes, mostly the left-hand ones. It appears first, though rather irregularly, in many of the Andhra and Kshatrapa inscriptions of the Western caves, and becomes more constant on the copper-plates of the Guptas, the kings of Valabhî, those of Veṅgî, the Pallavas, *K*alukyas, and so forth[3]. On the plates, especially those from the South, the line is sometimes slightly curved like a diminutive crescent, whence the angle at the top of the Kanarese and Telugu characters seems to be derived. By an extension of the serif to either side the characteristic top-line of the Nâgarî alphabets

[1] Bendall, Catalogue, p. xliii.

[2] As the exact shape of this letter seems to me doubtful, I shall not take it into consideration in the sequel. From its position I infer that it is meant for the Vedic *l*a, which in many indigenous Indian tables of the alphabet is placed between ha and ksha.

[3] In illustration of these and the following remarks, Burgess, Indian Alphabets, Arch. Rep. W. I. vol. iv, plate v, and the plates in Burnell, Elements of South-Indian Palaeography, may be compared.

is obtained. Another modification of the serif is the small square, either hollow or filled in, which is found in the Vâkâ*t*aka inscriptions, and in *K*andragupta's Udayagiri inscription of Sa*m*vat 82[1]. The wedge, too, seems to be a descendant of the serif, and due to its artistic combination with the down-strokes. It occurs first in the Gupta inscriptions of the Kuhâon type, and is found in a very great number of later epigraphic documents from all parts of India, either by itself or in association with prolonged horizontal lines which close the tops of the letters. The latter process has given rise to the Ku*t*ila writing. A transformation of the wedge is the hollow triangle which occurs sporadically in many inscriptions, otherwise characterised by wedges[2].

The substitution of flat tops for angular round ones, which appears in the letters e, kha, ga, *t*a, tha, dha, and *s*a, is without doubt like the use of the wedges, due to the desire to make the characters more regular, and, above all, to mark the line. Sporadic instances of the operation of this principle occur in the Gupta inscriptions of the Kuhâon type and other documents of the same period.

The right-hand verticals projecting beyond the body of the letters are found in the letters kha, ga, gha, *k*a, ta, tha, dha, pa, ba, ma, ya, la, va, *s*a, sha, and sa, and occasionally in na. Sometimes there is instead of the vertical a slightly curved line, the ends of which incline towards the right. These peculiar down-strokes are either extensions of the old short ones, or substitutes for lines, curving to the right (e.g. in ta, tha). They probably owe their origin to the practice, still generally prevalent among Indian Lekhakas, of beginning the letters on the left side, next making the right-hand stroke, and finally adding the connecting links between the two[3]. With this method it was natural to allow a free sweep to the pen in forming the right-hand down-stroke, and to make it somewhat longer than the left-hand portion. When the connecting link was made, the down-stroke of course protruded beyond the body of the letter[4]. Though the origin

[1] Cunningham, Reports, IX, plate xix. 2.

[2] See e.g. No. 8 of Dr. Bhagvânlâl's Nepâl Series, Ind. Ant. IX, 171.

[3] See my remarks on this subject in my Leitfaden für den Sanskrit Elementarcursus, Note zur Schrifttafel. I may add that in the case of complicated signs like kha, the process of formation is as follows: 1. ‡, 2. ल, 3. ख, 4. ख.

[4] Sometimes the side-stroke protrudes in flat-topped letters also beyond the top-line, and through an artistic treatment of the upper prolongation of the verticles arise the

of this characteristic seems thus merely due to an accident, it has effected a very important transformation in the shape of the letters. It makes them look as if the right-hand stroke was not an integral portion of the letter, but merely a support on which the real letter leans. Looking at the formation of the compound letters in the modern Devanâgarî, where the right-hand vertical is so frequently omitted, it seems to me not doubtful that the Lekhakas, who first framed groups like ष्य, ध्व, प्व, really considered the verticals to be unessential. Though the alphabet of the Horiu*z*i palm-leaves is a long way behind the development which the modern Devanâgarî has reached, it yet shows clearly how that was produced.

While the last-mentioned three peculiarities are innovations, produced by the same tendencies which operated in the formation of the modern Devanâgarî, the retention of the open tops in those letters where the old alphabets have them, is an archaic feature.

Besides these general principles, there are several minor characteristic points, which can only be brought out fully by a separate consideration of each letter. In turning to this task, it will be advisable to combine with it the not less important comparison of the cognate alphabets, used in manuscripts and inscriptions. The number of documents which by their characters are more or less closely allied to the Horiu*z*i palm-leaves is so great, that it is necessary to make a selection among them, and to take into consideration only a few typical ones to which dates can be assigned with some certainty. Among the literary alphabets the most useful are (1) that preserved in the oldest Nepâlese MSS., Nos. 1049 and 1702 of the Cambridge Collection (Bendall, Catalogue, plate i), the former of which, according to Mr. Bendall's very probable conjecture, dates from the year 252 of the *S*rîharsha era, or 858–9 A.D. (2) The *S*âradâ alphabet of Ka*s*mîr, which, according to the evidence of the coins, has certainly been in use since the times of Avantivarman or the middle of the ninth century A.D. Among the epigraphic alphabets the most serviceable are (1) the Gupta alphabet of the Kuhâon pillar[1], and for some letters that of the Indokhera copperplate[2], dated respectively in Guptasa*m*vat 141 and 146, and probably

little horns or projections at the side of ga, *s*a, etc., on the Morbî plate and other inscriptions with ornamental characters.

[1] Indian Antiquary, X, 125. [2] Journ. Beng. Br. Roy. As. Soc. XLIII, 364.

belonging to the first half of the fourth century A.D.[1] (2) The Nepâlese alphabets of Dr. Bhagvânlâl's series of inscriptions, which are dated in two different eras, Nos. 1–4, Sa*m*vat 386–535, and Nos. 6–15, Sa*m*vat 34–153, and probably range between the middle of the fourth and the middle of the eighth centuries A.D.[2] (3) That of the *Gh*âlrâpâ*th*an inscription, dated in the year 746 of an unnamed era, and hence in no case earlier than 689–90 A.D., but possibly later[3]. (4) The closely-allied alphabets of the Sâmanga*dh* plates of Dantidurga, dated *S*akasa*m*vat 675 or 753–54 A.D.[4], and of the signatures of Dadda Pra*s*ântarâga, on the Gur*g*ara plates, *S*akasa*m*vat 380–415 or 458–493 A.D.[5], which exhibit the oldest known form of the Devanâgarî alphabet.

[1] I consider the traditional date of the beginning of the Gupta era, 319 A.D., to be impossible for these inscriptions. Sir E. C. Bayley's calculations, which on the basis of the dates of the Kabul coins, fix it in 190 A.D., seem to me most probable.

[2] Indian Antiquary, IX, 163 seqq. The beginning of the era used in the first four may be calculated approximately with the help of the Li*kkh*avi va*ms*âvali, given in No. 15. It falls shortly before the beginning of the Christian era. The details of the calculation will be published in the 'Considerations on the Chronology of Nepâl,' now being printed in the Indian Antiquary. The reasons why the dates of Nos. 6–15 must be referred to the *S*rîharsha era have been given by Mr. Bendall, Catalogue, p. xli.

[3] Indian Antiquary, V, 180. The *Gh*âlrâpâ*th*an inscription furnishes a good example of an archaic type, closely allied to the alphabet of the Horiu*z*i palm-leaves, from Western India. Other examples of the same type are found on the seal of *S*arvavarman, the Maukhari (Journ. Roy. As. Soc. III, p. 377), on the Buddhist clay seals from Valabhî, Ka*n*heri (Journ. Bomb. Br. Roy. As. Soc. VI, plates vii[a]–vii[d]), and Java (Burnell, Elements, plate xxii), on the Kâmavana inscription (Ind. Antiquary, X, 34), on the Morbî plate, dated Gopta (Gaupta)-sa*m*vat 585 (Ind. Antiquary, II, 258), on the Deogarh pillar, dated (Vikrama)-sa*m*vat 919 and *S*akasa*m*vat 784 (Cunningham, Reports, X, plate xxiii), on the Seven Pagodas (Burnell, Elem. plate xxii), and on a number of unpublished photographs and facsimiles, among which the Da*s*âvatâra fragment of the Râsh*t*rakû*t*as (transcript published, Burgess, Arch. Rep. W. I. vol. v, 87–89) may be specially mentioned. All these documents show, in spite of numerous small divergencies, a family likeness, and agree in principle with the alphabet of our palm-leaves. There is not a single one among them which can be referred with certainty to an earlier period than the eighth century A.D.

[4] Indian Antiquary, XI, 108.

[5] Umetâ plates, Indian Antiquary, VII, 61; Kaira plates, Journ. Roy. As. Soc. N. S. IV, p. 248, plates ii and iii. Though Dr. Bhagvânlâl (Indian Antiquary, XIII, 71 seqq.) has expressed strong doubts with respect to the genuineness of the Umetâ and Ilâo plates, and has referred the dates of the Kaira plates to the seventh century, I have no hesitation in saying that his suspicions against the former are unfounded. My chief argument is that another unpublished grant of king Dadda Pra*s*ântarâga exists, which is dated in *S*akasa*m*vat 415, and mentions an eclipse of the sun which really happened on the day named. This grant, the Bagumrâ plates, will be shortly published in the Transactions of the Vienna Academy, together with a discussion of the whole Gur*g*ara question. I will add, already here, that in consequence of Dr. Bhagvânlâl's discovery of a longer series of Gur*g*ara kings, I no longer refer the date of the Kâvi plate of *G*ayabha*t*a (Indian Antiq. V, 103) to the Vikrama era. I admit that Mr. Fleet's and General Cunningham's calculations, which make the date Sa*m*. 486 equal to 736 A.D., are probably correct.

In order to facilitate reference, the annexed plate vi gives a tabular view of the most important among these alphabets, as well as of that of the Horiu*z*i palm-leaves. The characters have been taken from the published facsimiles referred to in the preceding notes. Only for the *S*âradâ alphabet, tracings of the unpublished MS. of the *S*âkuntala nâ*t*aka (Deccan College Coll. of 1876–1877, No. 192) have been used, and for a few letters of column viii, impressions from the original Bagumrâ plates. The compiler of the table is Dr. Pfurtscheller, of Vienna. I now proceed to a detailed and comparative examination of the characters of the Horiu*z*i palm-leaves.

III.

A. Initial Vowels.

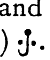
a differs from Gu.[1] and the older alphabets, by the curve open to the left in the lower portion of the left half of the letter, and by the shortening of the right-hand vertical. The former peculiarity is characteristic of all the literary alphabets of Northern India. Identical with H. P. are Ne. MSS. 1049 and 1702, *S*â., the modern Devanâgarî of Western India, Ne. I. Nos. 13–15, while Nos. 1–9, 12 agree with Gu., and No. 11 has a transitional form, similar to *Gh*â. Sâ. agrees, too, but has, in addition, a closed top.

â is formed like a with the addition of the mark of the long vowel, for which both a curve at the lower end of the right-hand vertical and the usual â-stroke to the right of the top are used. The first form occurs in Ne. MS. 1049 and Ne. I. No. 15 (No. 1 showing the old a

[1] In the sequel the following abbreviations will be used: Gu. = Gupta; Gu. Ind. = Gupta of the Indokhera plates; Gu. Ku. = Gupta of Kuhâon; H. P. = Horiu*z*i palm-leaves; *Gh*â. = *Gh*âlrâpâ*th*an inscription; Ne. I. = Nepâlese inscriptions of Dr. Bhagvânlâl's series; Ne. MSS. = Nepâlese MSS.; *S*â = *S*âradâ alphabet; Sâ. = Dantidurga's Sâmanga*dh* plates; U. B. = signatures on the Umetâ and Bagumrâ plates. Figures in brackets without any addition refer to the columns on the accompanying table.

with the curve below). The second is found in Ne. MS. 1702. The curve at the bottom is used as a sign of the length, in many ancient and modern alphabets from various parts of India, compare e.g. the Veṅgî, Va*tt*elu*t*u, the modern Grantha, Tamil, and Tulu (Burnell, Elem. plates i, xv–xviii). It is almost a principle in Indian palaeography, that the place where a stroke, denoting length, may be attached to the akshara, is immaterial, and that the choice of its form, whether straight, curved, or round, depends entirely on convenience.

i differs from the ancient forms by the arrangement of the dots or circles in a triangle, the base of which is turned upwards, and the apex downwards, as well as by the addition of a small curve to the lower dot. This arrangement of the dots is, no doubt, due to the desire to mark or to keep the line. The immediate precursor of the H. P. form is that of Gu. Ind. Gu. Ku. shows a slightly different arrangement of the dots and wedge instead of the right-hand upper dot. This form occurs throughout in Ne. I. Nos. 1–12, while Nos. 13–15 have the character of H. P., which appears also in *Gh*â., *S*â., Sâ., Ne. MSS., and many other Northern alphabets. It continues sporadically in the *G*aina Devanâgarî, as late as the fifteenth century.

î is characterised by the arrangement of the four dots which form a rhombus instead of a square (Andhra, Nânâghâ*t*, Burgess, Ind. Alph. 5), and by the curve of the lower dot. The form of H. P. occurs on the Morbî plate in the name *G*âîkadeva. Ne. MS. 1049 differs slightly, as the dot above the line has a very minute tail. *S*â. differs, its form, which consists of a straight line and two dots, being derived from that used on the Gur*g*ara plates (Kaira) .

u is again a test-letter, and characterised by the curve to the left into which the right-hand horizontal stroke of the old Maurya and Andhra letter has been converted. Gu. shows still a curve to the right, and so do Ne. I. Nos. 1–12. But Ne. I. 13–15, Ne. MSS., *S*â., *Gh*â., Sâ., as well as all the Northern literary alphabets, agree with H. P. either fully or very closely.

û differs from the short vowel by a straight slanting stroke, issuing from the right side of the wedge, and has thus a slightly more archaic appearance than the closely allied forms of Ne. MS. 1049, *S*â., and the other modern literary alphabets, where the long vowel is marked by a curve attached in various ways.

ri seems to be the parent of the modern Devanâgarî forms, comes nearest to that used by the Marâ*th*âs, and is allied to the Nandinâgarî form  (left out by Burnell). A comparison of the forms preserved in Ne. MS. 1049 and *S*â., leads me to suspect that the letter has in all cases been formed out of ra by the addition of a curve turned to the right, which serves to denote the medial *ri* in the Gupta and later alphabets. The differences in the form are caused partly by the adoption of various forms of ra as matrix or basis, and partly by the difference in the manner in which the curve is attached. In the H. P. sign, the basis is the left-hand part, a ra consisting of a vertical with a small horizontal line attached to the middle, on the left side, the curve denoting the medial *ri* has been expanded and placed to the right of the matrix, the connexion being formed by a horizontal bar. In the letter of Ne. MS. 1049 the matrix is a ra, consisting of a short vertical with a knob-like projection on the left, and the curve has been attached to the latter. In the *S*â. form, the ra chosen as the matrix is the straight down-stroke, and the curve has been added to its lower end.

rî consists of the same elements and the mark of the long vowel, which in H. P. consists of a curve, in Ne. MS. 1049 of a slanting straight stroke, and in *S*â. of a loop, all being attached on the right side, though at different elevations.

l and *l*î find their counterparts only in Ne. MS. 1049. The sign for *l*i, given in the latter, seems to be that of H. P., only turned the other way, and the large curve, which in the *l*î of Ne. MS. is interlaced with the sign for the short vowel, represents the small slanting stroke which denotes the long vowel in H. P. Both the signs for the short vowel seem to be modifications of the cursive la, known from the Gur*g*ara plates of the fifth century, and the Valabhî grants of *S*îlâditya I, and his successors (Burgess, Ind. Alphabets, 29).

e shows the old triangle, but with the base turned upwards, and the apex downwards. This inverted form occurs already in the Mathurâ Inscr. No. 20 (Cunningham, Reports, III, plate xv), the era of which is in my opinion not that of Kanishka, but the Gupta. In the Gupta inscriptions, both this and the older form, with the apex to the left or the right, are used, and the same vacillation is observable in the Ne. I., where Nos. 9 (l. 12) and 13–15 have the flat-topped form, while No. 10, l. 2, and No. 12, l. 15 exhibit the old one. The H. P. form occurs also

in *Gh*â., Sâ., Ne. MS. 1049, and is the parent of all the varieties of the letter which are used in the *S*â., Devanâgarî, and other alphabets.

o consists of an u with a p*ri*sh*th*amâtrâ, and consequently is formed on the same principle as the old Maurya and Andhra o (Burgess, Ind. Alph. 1 and 16). Ne. MS. 1049 agrees almost exactly. *S*â. comes also very close, but substitutes another form of the p*ri*sh*th*amâtrâ, while the *G*aina Devanâgarî marks the latter by a straight stroke above the top ओ and the Brâhma*n*ical Devanâgarî in the word Om by a curve ओ. As far as I can judge the word Om, which precedes in the H. P. the Sûtra, the Dhâra*n*î, and the table of letters, did not differ from the letter, given in plate vi. Plates ii–iv give, however, a somewhat different sign, which occasionally occurs at the beginning of inscriptions. *Z*iogon (above, p. 16) mistakes it for a variety of इ i.

au is interesting by the manner in which a distinctive mark, in reality an â-stroke, is attached on the right side. Ne. MS. 1049, *S*â., and the Western *G*aina Devanâgarî agree very closely with H. P.

B. Single Consonants.

ka retains its ancient cross or dagger-shape in combination with virâma (i, 65), and in the groups kta (i, 66), ksha (i, 67), and kya (?). In all other cases it shows to the left of the central down-stroke a heart-shaped figure, and to the right a downward prolongation of the crossbar ending in a slight twist to the right. The latter form occurs in Ne. I. 12 (once l. 23), 13–15, Ne. MS. 1049, and Sâ. It is clearly the parent of the forms used in *S*â., the modern Devanâgarî, and other literary alphabets of Northern India. In Ne. I. 13–15 and Sâ. the older form is used too, and the rule, regulating its use, seems to be that it is retained, whenever a vowel or consonant is placed under ka. Thus we find it in ku, k*ri*, kta, ksha, and kya, but not in ki, ko, etc. It is evident that the occasional retention of the crossbar in compound letters in the Devanâgarî[1], *S*âradâ, and other literary alphabets is a remnant of this usage. *Gh*â. and Ne. I. 3–12 show throughout the old dagger-shape, but have at the end of the vertical in the middle a small upward stroke turned to the left. It seems probable that the heart-shaped figure arose from the prolongation of this little stroke to the end of the cross-

[1] The Devanâgarî MSS., even of the sixteenth century, still use the dagger-shape in accordance with the rule of Ne. I. and Sâ.

bar[1]. A similar development may be observed in the Vâka*t*aka and *K*alukya forms of ka (Burgess, Ind. Alphabets, 22 and 23, 30 and 31). Gu. and Ne. I. 1 have the old dagger-shape, without the up-stroke at the end of the vertical, but, as also the older Mathurâ inscriptions, with the ends of the crossbar bent downwards.

kha is characterised by its flat top and angular shape, the position of the loop on the left side of the right-hand down-stroke, and the prolongation of the latter beyond the loop. In Gu. and the older alphabets, the top is invariably round, and the loop attached to the right side of the right-hand down-stroke. In Ne. I. No. 1, ii, l. 11 has the round top, but the loop on the left side of the right-hand down-stroke, Nos. 7–15 show exactly the form of H. P., which appears with small variations at the end of the left-hand limb, of the size of the loop, in Ne. MS. 1049, *S*â., *Gh*â., and Sâ.

ga differs from Gu. and many of the older alphabets by the flat top, the slight bend of the middle of the left limb towards the right, and a wedge marking the end of the latter. Ne. I. Nos. 1 and 3 vacillate between the round and flat tops, and with respect to the left limb, which is either straight or bent, and ends in a wedge or a triangle. The later ones show the flat top invariably, but vary with respect to the bend in the left limb. Ne. MS. 1049, *S*â., *Gh*â. agree with H. P. almost exactly; Sâ. and U. B. show, instead of a wedge at the end of the left limb, a triangle, which is an ornamental development of the former.

gha is characterised by the division of the lower horizontal line, on which in Gu. and older forms the three verticals rest, into two small curves, and by the prolongation of the third vertical beyond the body of the letter. Among the Ne. I. No. 1, ii, l. 5 shows the form of Gu., No. 13, l. 29 seems to agree with H. P., while No. 15 slightly differs by the pointed angle which the third vertical forms with the horizontal stroke. This last form appears in Ne. MS. 1049 and *Gh*â., while the shape presented by *S*â. comes nearer to H. P. Sâ. differs from H. P. only by the closed top.

ṅa looks, owing to the curve in the down-stroke, almost like *t*a. In this respect it resembles the form of *S*â. alone, the other alphabets all

[1] This theory explains the rule according to which the dagger-shape is retained, if a vowel or consonant is attached to the lower end of ka.

preserving the old angular shape. Its other peculiarity, the wedge at the end of the upper horizontal, is found in Ne. I. 3–15 (Nos. 1–2 only showing the straight stroke of Gu. and the older alphabets), in Ne. MS. 1049, and in *S*â. The use of this letter in manoṅsi (H. P. A. l. 5), instead of the anusvâra, finds numerous analogies in inscriptions from various parts of India, where ṅa commonly stands before *s*a, sa, and ha. The fact probably finds its explanation by the peculiar pronunciation of the anusvâra before these three letters, where it very frequently has a guttural sound, resembling gṅ.

*k*a differs from the Gu. and older forms by its triangular form, and the prolongation of the right-hand down-stroke. The former peculiarity is constant in Ne. I. 10–15 (No. 1 showing the half-moon of Gu., and Nos. 3–9 wavering between the crescent and a triangle), as well as in *Gh*â. But the prolonged down-stroke is found only in Ne. MS. 1049 and Sâ. The form of *S*â. is probably a modification of the triangle, the left-hand side of which has been attached to the left end of the top-line.

*kh*a differs from the usual form by the opening in the left-hand circle. The same peculiarity occurs in Ne. MS. 1049 and Sâ.

*g*a differs from Gu. and the older forms by the wedge at the end of the first horizontal bar, by the slanting direction of the second horizontal, and by the curves given to the third horizontal as well as to the down-stroke on the left. The same peculiarities appear with slight modifications in Ne. MS. 1049 and *Gh*â. Among the Ne. I. the slant in the second horizontal and the curve in the third appear already in No. 1, the wedge and the curve in the down-stroke are first clearly observable in No. 4, though the latter is not constant. The form of Sâ. is a further development, tending towards the final result, the conversion of the first horizontal into a top-line, of the second bar into a vertical, and of the third into a double twist on the left, which is reached in the modern Devanâgarî. In *S*â. the letter is turned round, the old vertical being made a horizontal line, and the three horizontals turned into verticals[1].

*gh*a differs from the old Maurya and Andhra form merely by the wedges marking the ends of the strokes, and is identical with that of

[1] The H. P. form occurs, however, in ancient *S*âradâ MSS. of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

Ne. MS. 1049. *S*â. presents a further development, the hook on the right being detached from the vertical and hung on the top bar. The modern Devanâgarî forms of the letter partly go back to the H. P. form, and partly to the *G*aina घ, with the hook turned downwards.

ṅa shows two forms, the independent and that used in connexion with *g*a (i, 52). The former differs from the independent form of the older inscriptions and from Gu. mainly by the shape of the hook on the left, which turns its opening upwards instead of downwards. The only analogy is furnished by the compound letter of Gu. (iv. a, 52), and it is probably the parent of the modern Devanâgarî ङ, where the whole letter has, however, been turned round. The compound form (i, 52) finds its explanation through the independent form of Ne. MS. 1049 (ii, 26), where the three elements of the ancient form have been converted into three curves of varying size, the uppermost representing the horizontal stroke at the top, the middlemost the vertical, and the third the hook originally attached to the right. The compound form of H. P. (i, 52) consists of the same elements, but has been made more regular, and placed horizontally under the *g*a in order to make it possible to preserve the distances between the lines. The proof for this assertion is furnished by Ne. I. Nos. 1–2, where the H. P. letter occurs in an upright position (see e. g. No. 1, iii, ll. 8, 12, 15), side by side with the older form (No. 1, ii, l. 3). Ne. I. Nos. 3–15 and Sâ. agree with H. P. In *Gh*â. (v, 26, 52) we have a curious shape exactly agreeing with *n*a. I think it, however, unlikely that the writer has made a mistake. It is more probable that the likeness has been produced accidentally by the same process of turning the letter sideways, and that the curve on the left stands for the top-stroke of the old letter, the horizontal for its vertical, and the curve on the right for the hook.

*t*a differs from the Gu. and older forms by the wedge placed above the old half-circle and the addition of a small line to the left, which again ends in a wedge. Among the Ne. I. No. 1, iii, l. 16 wavers between the older form and that with the line attached to the top. Nos. 3–15, as well as the other alphabets of table vi, fully agree with H. P.

*th*a, *d*a, and *dh*a, which show very slight changes, require no special remarks. All the varieties occurring in table vi are identical with or go back to the angular Maurya form (Burgess, Ind. Alph. 1).

*n*a again shows two forms, the independent (i, 31) and the subscribed

compound one (i, 54). The former agrees fully with Ne. MS. 1049 and Ne. I. No. 13 (ll. 14, 18, etc.), while the second comes close to the independent *n*a of *S*â. and Sâ., and to one variety of the subscribed *n*a in Ne. I. 15 (vi, 73). It seems to me that the subscribed *n*a of H. P. and its allies is merely a contracted or compressed form of the independent *n*a. As regards the origin of the latter and of the cognate letters of Gu. Ind. (iv, l. 31) in *Gh*â., in Ne. I. No. 15, with which Ne. I. 2 and 4–12 agree, and of Gu. Ku. (iv. a, 31), found also in Ne. I. 1 and 3, it is necessary to begin with the corresponding Maurya letter. For the usual *n*a of the A*s*oka inscriptions I, the Girnâr rock gives in one place (ed. ix, l. 8, imi*n*a) T, with the substitution of two small curves for the top bar. From the latter arises the looped form ℱ, so common in the Western inscriptions (Burgess, Ind. Alph. 18, 19, 22–27, 28, 32), which in its turn produces that of Gu. Ku. and of Ne. I. Nos. 1, 3, by the separation of the right-hand curve from the top and its being attached to the right end of the horizontal bar below. The forms of Gu. Ind. and of the majority of the Ne. I. show the same change in the position of the left-hand hook, and besides, omit the loop on the left. The letter, found in *Gh*â., H. P., Ne. I. No. 13, and Ne. MSS., finally is a modification of the last-mentioned form, characterised by the conversion of the right-hand curve into an angular figure with the wedge, and in the last three cases by the addition of a small stroke protruding below beyond the body of the letter.

ta, which fully agrees with Ne. MS. 1049, is characterised by the conversion of the right-hand curved stroke, found in Gu. and in most of the older as well as later alphabets, into a vertical stroke and the shortness of the stout left limb, which is attached very high. An examination of the Ne. I. shows that the form of H. P. occurs occasionally in all of them, even in No. 1 (e.g. *k*arita*m*, iii, l. 18, and gaditai*h*, iii, l. 20). In Ne. I. No. 3 it is used in the majority of cases, while it occurs less frequently in the later ones. The form of U. B. resembles exactly a modern Devanâgarî ta turned round.

tha, with its notched left side, the vertical stroke on the right, protruding beyond the body of the letter, and the flat top, has a very modern appearance. Nearest to it comes Sâ., with which Ne. I. Nos. 4, 6–7, 10 closely agree, the only difference being the want of the tail. Gu. and Ne. I. No. 1 show an ellipse with a bar across the middle, a modification of the ancient circle with the dot in the centre[1]. Ne. I. Nos. 2–3 have the same sign as Gu., but with a flat top. Ne. I. Nos. 11, 13–15, Ne. MSS., and *Gh*â. show further modifications, in which a vertical is substituted for the right side of the ellipse. The form of *S*â. is based on the same principle.

da offers nothing peculiar except the little stroke at the right end of the curve, which appears in all the alphabets of our table except in Gu. In the Ne. I. it appears first in No. 4.

dha differs from the Gu. and older forms merely by the narrowing towards the lower end and by the prolongation of the vertical stroke. The Gu. form occurs in Ne. I. Nos. 1, 5, 6; one precisely similar, but with a notch in the left side, in Nos. 7, 9, 10, 11, and once in No. 12; the *Gh*â. form in Nos. 12, 14, 15; and the exact H. P. form in No. 13.

na differs from the Gu. and older forms by the filling in of the interior of the loop and by the straightening of the right-hand down-stroke. In many cases (e.g. i, 50) the na of H. P. resembles the modern Devanâgarî with the left-hand limb placed rather high. The majority of the alphabets of table vi show the old looped form, but *Gh*â., Ne. I. Nos. 14–15 (see vi, 50), and Ne. MS. 1049 agree exactly with the two varieties in H. P. The form of the Indokhera plate (iv. b, 36) proves that the loop was not exclusively used in the fourth century.

pa is characterised by the curve on the left and the length of the vertical stroke on the right which protrudes beyond the body of the letter. In Gu. and the more ancient alphabets, with the sole exception of the Maurya, the letter is angular and usually square, with an open top. Sometimes, however, the stroke between the two verticals slopes downwards towards the right and thus forms at its junction with the down-stroke an acute angle. A further modification, visible in *Gh*â., consists in the introduction of a curve on the left, while the acute angle on the right remains. This proceeding necessitates a break, marked by a little notch, in the bottom line. Among the Ne. I. we find the form of Gu. in Nos. 1–2, 4, 5, 8, 12; that of *Gh*â. with the notch in Nos. 3, 4 (once), 6, 7, 9, 11; and the H. P. form once in No. 12, constant in No. 13, and nearly constant in Nos. 14–15. Ne. MS. 1049, *S*â., Sâ., and U. B. (viii, 70) agree more or less exactly with H. P.

[1] This form survives later in the group stha, where the tha is, however, turned sideways, and has given rise to the curious Devanâgarî stha, which looks like s + *k*a.

pha agrees in principle with the Gu. form, in which, as also in Ne. MS. 1049 and *Sâ.*, a loop, marking the aspirate, is attached to the right of the pa instead of on the inside. It differs from Gu. only thereby, that instead of a loop the older open curve (see Burgess, Ind. Alph. 1, 13, 16, 18, 21, 28–32) has been retained. In the Ne. I. a similar form appears, probably in No. 11 and distinctly in No. 12, l. 23, while Nos. 13 and 15 show a loop on the inside of the pa. The curious form of Sâ., which frequently recurs in later inscriptions from Western India, is caused by the closing of the top of the pa, and is the parent of the modern Devanâgarî फ, where the loop has changed its position.

ba is represented by va, as is also frequently done in inscriptions, e. g. in Sâ. and *Gh*â. (?)

bha is characterised by the shortness and wedge-shape of the left limb and the strong curve at the beginning of the down-stroke on the right. The treatment of the left limb is doubtlessly, if compared with the Gu. form, more modern. With respect to the curve the same assertion cannot be made with equal confidence, as it appears in several ancient alphabets (see Burgess, Ind. Alph. 6–7, 11–14). In the Ne. I., Nos. 1–6 show the form of Gu., Nos. 7–9, 12, 14, 15 either fully agree with H. P. or come very close to it, Nos. 10–11 vacillate between the two, and No. 13 has the left limb of H. P., but the straight down-stroke of Gu. Among the other alphabets, Ne. MS. 1049 and *Gh*â. fully agree with H. P. The forms of *Sâ.* and Sâ. are modifications of that of H. P. With respect to the latter, which occurs in a great number of inscriptions of the ninth and later centuries, it may be remarked that its origin is well illustrated by a form occurring in Ne. I. No. 12 (ll. 9 and 16), where the wedge has been converted into a triangle, the middle of which is not filled in.

ma shows a slight modification of the form of Gu. and looks more archaic than those of *Sâ.*, Ne. MS. 1049, and Sâ., in all of which the right down-stroke protrudes beyond the body of the letter. The Ne. I. vacillate between the Gu. and H. P. forms. The form of U. B. is in one respect more archaic than all the others. For the loop on the left is a better representation of the lower half of the ancient ma, which in the literary alphabets has been turned sideways, than the simple side-stroke of the other alphabets. This loop survives in the Western inscriptions until the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and is still occasionally used in the modern Devanâgarî of Western India.

ya is one of the test-letters. It shows an essentially cursive form, containing, instead of three down-strokes, two with a projecting point on the left which indicates the third. The same form appears in all the alphabets of our table excepting Gu. It is important to note that Ne. I. Nos. 1–12 have the form of Gu., and Nos. 13–15 alone that of H. P.

ra is remarkably short, and consists of two wedges the points of which are joined together. Sometimes (i, 59) the lower wedge has a small tail, turned to the right. According to what has been said above on the wedges, it cannot be doubtful that the lower wedge is, as in the left-hand limbs of kha (v, vi, 18), ga (i, 19), and other cases, merely intended to mark the end of the straight down-stroke, of which the letter originally consisted (see Gu. and older alphabets), and that the little projecting tail was originally a merely ornamental appendage. It seems, however, that later the wedge and its tail were considered essential elements of the letter, and that hence the forms of Sâ. and U. B. (viii, 50) arose, where ra consists of a straight down-stroke with a left-hand knob-like limb, or with a small horizontal line on the left. The last form still survives in the Devanâgarî of the Marâ*th*â country. Among the other alphabets of our table, Ne. MSS. and *Sâ.* closely agree with H. P., while *Gh*â. shows a more strongly developed tail. Among the Ne. I., Nos. 1–2 have the same form as Gu., and Nos. 3–15 a peculiar one in which the end of the down-stroke is marked by a small projection to the left.

la shows in the left-hand limb a very archaic form, but the right-hand down-stroke being prolonged below has more the appearance of a support to which the letter leans than of an integral portion. It is evidently the descendant of a form like that used in Gu. Ind. (iv. b, 44), and has no connexion with the Gu. Ku. (iv. a, 44), which itself is a cursive variety of Gu. Ind., framed according to a somewhat different principle. Among the Ne. I., Nos. 1–3 have the letter of Gu. Ku., Nos. 4–10 that of *Gh*â. without the prolongation of the right-hand down-stroke, and Nos. 11–15 partly the latter and partly that of H. P., with which also Ne. MS. 1049, *Sâ.*, and Sâ. agree.

va shows the usual Devanâgarî form, a round figure, half an ellipse, clinging to a vertical which below protrudes beyond the former. All the

alphabets of our table, excepting Gu., which has the older triangular form, agree more or less closely. Among the Ne. I., Nos. 1–3 and 8 agree with Gu., while the remainder show the triangular shape rarely, or more frequently a transitional form with round left side, or simply that of H. P.

*s*a differs from the Gu. and older forms by its more angular appearance, though the top may be occasionally slightly rounded. In the Ne. I. the forms vary throughout between those of Gu. and H. P. (see vi, 44 and 56). Ne. MS. 1049 agrees, as usually, with H. P. *Gh*â. leans more towards the Gu. form. *S*â. as well as Sâ. and U. B. (viii, 54) show more modern developments. In the latter two the large triangle, a modification of the wedge, at the end of the left-hand stroke is worthy of note.

sha differs from the form of Gu. Ind. and the older ones chiefly by the prolongation of the right-hand side-stroke, which appears also in Ne. MS. 1049, *Gh*â., *S*â., and Sâ. Gu. Ku. preserves the old sha only in ksha (iv. a, 67). In all other cases it uses a cursive form, in which the curved bottom of the letter has been converted into a loop, not extending to the right-hand down-stroke, but attached to the crossbar in the middle of the letter. This form we find also in Ne. I. Nos. 1–10, 12, and once in No. 11 (l. 9), while No. 11, l. 2, and Nos. 13–15 have the sha of H. P., the prolongation of the right-hand down-stroke being particularly well developed in No. 13.

sa differs from Gu. Ind. by the conversion of the hook on the left into a wedge, and by the elongation of the right-hand down-stroke. The forms of Ne. MS. 1049, *S*â., *Gh*â., and some of those in the Ne. I. agree. Among the latter, Nos. 1–12 show instead of the wedge mostly a triangle. But the wedge occurs occasionally in Nos. 6, 7, 9, 12, seems to be constant in No. 14, and is used with one exception in No. 15. In this latter exceptional case we have the form with the opened wedge (viii, 48, below the line), which is found once also in No. 6, once in No. 11, and throughout in No. 13, as well as in Sâ. and U. B. (viii, 57). It survives to this day in the Devanâgarî of Râ*g*putânâ. Gu. Ku. differs with respect to the left limb, which is represented by a loop, either a modification of the ancient curve, or a cursive transformation of the triangle.

ha does not show any very important changes. It deserves to be noted that Gu. Ku. again presents a more advanced form than the contemporary and later alphabets, and that Ne. I. Nos. 1–3, as usually, agree with Gu. Ku. The projection below the base-line which is found in Sâ. and U. B., and remains constant in modern Devanâgarî, has probably been caused by the writer's adding the curve separately, as they do still, and beginning it at the right-hand end.

C. Medial Vowels.

â shows a down-stroke, sometimes wedge-shaped, and usually less than half as long as the akshara, to the right side of which it is invariably attached. This form agrees closely with those of all the alphabets of our table, excepting Gu. and *Gh*â., where the â-stroke frequently goes upwards, and is sometimes connected with the left-hand down-stroke of the aksharas. Among the Ne. I., Nos. 1–3 only show the forms of Gu. The origin of the down-strokes denoting â seems to be that the end of the old horizontal â-stroke was defined, as in other cases, by a wedge or a line, and that in course of time this originally unessential part came to be considered as the really important sign. The desire for regularising the appearance of the letters further led to its prolongation as far as the lower end of the aksharas. In connexion with *g*a the â is represented in H. P., as in most old alphabets, by an up-stroke attached to the middle bar of the letter. This practice is an archaic feature, and owing to the circumstance that since the earliest times the â-stroke was inserted in the middle of this letter. Ne. MS. 1049 shows in this respect an innovation (ii, 52), as the â is connected with the wedge at the end of the upper bar by a curve turning upwards. The same form is common in the Râsh*t*rakû*t*a and other inscriptions in connexion with *t*a and *n*a (vii, 51), and occurs even in Devanâgarî paper MSS.

i shows the characteristic prolongation of the curve over the top of the akshara towards the left, until it reaches the level of the lower end of the akshara. In Gu., with which Ne. I. No. 1 fully agrees, the tail of the curve does not go down so far. In the Ne. I. Nos. 2–11 the long-tailed sign appears together with the short-tailed one. Nos. 12–15 fully agree with H. P. and the other alphabets of our table.

î, which appears only once, stands still above its akshara with the

curve to the right. The other alphabets, with the exception of Gu., show the form with the tail prolonged to the level of the end of the akshara. Among the Ne. I., Nos. 1–11 show the H. P. form constantly, Nos. 12–15 have the long-tailed one also.

u is usually marked by a short straight down-stroke, defined at the end by a minute wedge, but occasionally by the curve below the akshara, common in modern Devanâgarî. The former sign is archaic and the representative of the longer straight stroke, used in Gu. It is retained in all the alphabets of our table and in the modern *S*âradâ to the present day, though its use becomes gradually more and more circumscribed by the greater frequency with which the curve is employed. In this respect it is interesting to note that the earlier Ne. I. use the curve very rarely, while Nos. 13–15 have it in the great majority of cases.

û has three forms, two of which (i, 58 and 59) are traceable in other alphabets, while that in i, 57, an exact representation of the independent û, is, I believe, not known on inscriptions. All the numerous varieties observable in the cognate alphabets go back to combinations of two straight strokes or two curves. That of U. B. deserves to be noted on account of its similarity to the modern Devanâgarî form.

ri shows the usual form which is always used in the Gupta inscriptions and remains constant in all the cognate alphabets.

e, ai, o, and au offer no peculiarities, except that the p*ri*sh*th*amâtrâ is used more frequently than superscribed mâtrâ. The virâma (i, 65) is remarkable, as it exactly agrees with that still used in the modern alphabets. Among the Ne. I., Nos. 4–15 have it too, as well as the other form observable in *Gh*â. and *S*â., where a stroke over the top and at the right side of the letter is used. Nos. 1–3 indicate the absence of the vowel by the size of the consonant, which in such cases is made half as big as those which are to be pronounced with a. This practice, which is the usual one in Gu. and earlier alphabets, is still remembered in India. For a vowelless consonant, e.g. m is even at present frequently called by the Pa*nd*its ardha-makâra. In Ne. MS. 1049 and other ancient documents small-sized letters are sometimes used in combination with the stroke marking the virâma.

D. Conjunct Consonants.

Some groups, those with k and *g*, have already been noticed above. Among the remaining ones the following only require some remarks:—

1. In groups ending with ya the last stroke of that letter is occasionally drawn up as far as the top of the akshara (i, 69). This peculiarity, a result of the tendency to equalise the length of the strokes, occurs in the Ne. I. Nos. 4–15, while Nos. 1–3 do not know it. It is constant in Sâ., in the modern Devanâgarî, and some other literary alphabets.

2. The groups beginning with ra (i, 72–73) show besides the superscribed wedge, which is common to H. P., Ne. MS. 1049, and many inscriptions, cases in which the ra is inserted into the left-hand down-stroke of letters. This practice explains the curious forms of *S*â. where the ra at first sight seems to be denoted by a small line on the left (iii, 72). In reality, however, the projecting side-stroke marks the top of the ma.

3. In the group sh*t*a the *t*a is placed on its side (compare the corresponding signs of *S*â., *Gh*â., Ne. I. 15, and Sâ., and my remarks on *ñ*a). It may be added that in the Ne. I. tha is also placed sideways in combination with sa स, and then retains its elliptical form. This form of the group has given rise to the modern Devanâgarî form which looks like s*k*a.

4. Some groups, finally, like spra and sma (i, 76, 77), show a beginning of the method of combination, used in the later alphabets, according to which the consonants of a group are placed side by side instead of the one below the other. It is sometimes, but rarely, observable in the older inscriptions.

IV.

If we sum up the results of the preceding examination of the characters of the H. P., it is in the first place evident that they present to us a perfectly developed literary alphabet, formed according to well-defined principles which were forced on the writer by his writing materials, pen, ink, and narrow palm-leaves, or suggested by the requirements of order and regularity. The narrow leaves, on which not

merely a few sentences but longer compositions had to be written, required the use of signs of moderate size, the shortening of sprawling horizontal strokes and the abandonment or reduction of tails, and the turning or compressing of the lower portions of compound letters. The use of the pen made it convenient to form the right-hand down-strokes separately, and naturally led to their prolongation beyond the body of the letter, and it likewise suggested the formation of curves to the left instead of to the right. If the MSS. were to be easily readable, it was necessary to mark the lines and to define the ends of the strokes. A slight pressure on the pen at the beginning of the down-strokes produced a thickening at their tops, which in combination with the old serif led to the formation of the wedges. The wedges once being adopted, the sense for regularity and an artistic feeling caused them to be used at the ends of horizontal and vertical strokes.

Secondly, the close agreement of the much later Nepâlese MSS. and of numerous inscriptions from all parts of India with the forms of H. P., shows that this alphabet was not exclusively cultivated by the Buddhists or peculiar to Northern India, but enjoyed a widespread popularity down to the end of the ninth century, and perhaps later. At present it survives only in the *S*âradâ of Ka*s*mîr, which probably branched off in early times. For though fully agreeing in principle, it shows numerous differences in details, and has had, as stated above, a separate existence at least since the times of Avantivarman[1].

Thirdly, the relation of the H. P. alphabet to those used in the Nepâlese inscriptions proves distinctly that the epigraphic characters did not keep pace with those used for literary purposes, but remained for a long time more archaic, and were gradually modified by the influence of the letters employed for purposes of every-day life. Considering the great importance of this point, it will not be superfluous to present the facts, revealed by the preceding analysis, in a tabular view, and to give a full statement of the manner in which the final conclusions are reached. The tabular abstract of the facts may be arranged as on the opposite page.

[1] The earliest longer document in *S*âradâ letters is an unpublished inscription of one Dharmâṅka, dated in the year 68 (of the Lokakâla), during the reign of 'king' Diddâ or 991–2 A.D. It was found by Dr. Leitner in *S*rînagar. The stone is at present in the Lahore Museum.

Letters.	Gupta Form.	Transitional Form.	Form of H. P.
Initial a, â	Ne. I. Nos. 1-10, 12	Nos. 11	Nos. 13–15
„ i	„ „ 1–12	.. ..	„ 13–15
„ u	„ „ 1–12	.. ..	„ 15
„ e	„ „ 1-8,10,12	.. ..	„ 13–15
ka	„ „ 1	„ 2–12	„ 12–15
kha	.. ..	„ 1	„ 7–15
ga	.. ..	„ 1–3	„ 1–15
gha	„ „ 1	„ 15	„ 13
ṅa	„ „ 1–2	.. ..	„ 3–15
*k*a	„ „ 1–9	„ 3–15	.. ..
*kh*a	„ „ 1–15	.. ..	.. ..
*g*a	.. ..	„ 1–4	„ 4–15
ña	.. ..	„ 1–2	„ 3–15
*t*a	„ „ 1	.. ..	„ 1–15
*n*a	„ „ 1, 3	„ 2, 4–12, 14–15	„ 13
ta	„ „ 1–15	.. ..	„ 1–15
tha	„ „ 1–3	„ *a*. 4, 6–7, 10, 12, *b*. 13, 15	.. ..
da	„ „ 1–3, 5–6	.. ..	„ 4, 7–15
dha	„ „ 1, 5–6	„ 12, 14–15	„ 13
na	„ „ 1–15	.. ..	„ 14–15
pa	„ „ 1–2, 4–5, 8, 12	„ 3–11, 15	„ 12–15
pha	.. ..	„ 11–12	.. ..[1]
bha	„ „ 1-6, 10-11	„ 7–15	„ 7–15
ma	„ „ 1–15	.. ..	„ 1–15
ya	„ „ 1–12	.. ..	„ 13–15
ra	„ „ 1–2	„ 3–15	.. ..
la	„ „ 1–3	„ 4–12, 14–15	„ 7, 11–15
va	„ „ 1-4, 8, 11	„ 4–12, 14–15	„ 6–15
*s*a	„ „ 1–15	.. ..	„ 1–15
sha	„ „ 1–12	.. ..	„ 11, 13–15
sa	.. ..	.. ..	„ 1–15
ha	„ „ 1–3	.. ..	„ 4–15
Medial â	„ „ 1–3	.. ..	„ 4–15
i	„ „ 1–11	.. ..	„ 2–15.
Virâma	„ „ 1–3	.. ..	„ 4–15

[1] Nos. 13 and 15 show an older form.

If we had no historical information regarding the age of the Horiu*z*i palm-leaves, every palaeographist, I believe, would draw from the above facts the inference that they belonged to the beginning of the eighth century A. D. For it is undeniable that their alphabet is nearly identical with the characters of Ne. I., Nos. 13–15, which were written between 749–50 and 759–60 A. D., and that the earlier documents of the Nepâl series apparently show, how the H. P. alphabet was gradually evolved in the course of about four centuries from the Gupta characters. This conclusion would be strengthened by the circumstance that the *Gh*âlrâpâ*th*an inscription of Sa*m*vat 746, which mostly shows characters, standing midway between the Gupta and H. P. alphabets, cannot be older than the end of the seventh century, and that there is no inscription showing letters similar to *Gh*â. which can be referred to an earlier time. It would further be corroborated by the close resemblance of the Da*s*âvatâra fragment, of the Deogarh pillar inscription, of the Morbî plate, and of the oldest Nepâlese MSS. of the Cambridge collection with our palm-leaves, as none of these documents can be placed earlier than the second half of the eighth century, and some of them clearly belong to the ninth century. In short, on the supposition that the characters of the inscriptions permit us to trace the gradual transformation of the Indian alphabets, the arguments for assigning the Horiu*z*i MS. to the beginning of the eighth century would be as strong as possible. As we, however, know from external evidence that this document is at the least two hundred years older, it is evident that there must be some radical fault in the argumentation. The facts with respect to the age of the inscriptions being indisputable, the fault must lie in the tacit assumption that the inscriptions give us a correct view of the development of the Indian alphabets. This being once recognised, the case is plain enough. Starting from the two facts that we have on the one hand a MS. of the first half of the sixth century A. D., showing an alphabet with far advanced forms, and on the other hand a series of inscriptions, extending over the period from the fourth to the eighth century, the characters of which gradually change and in their latest development closely agree with those of the MS., the inevitable conclusion is that the changes in the epigraphic characters are due to the influence of the literary alphabet. In other words, the masons who incised the inscriptions, or the writers who wrote the originals from which the masons copied, tried

to make the characters archaic, but succumbed at last to the influence of the literary alphabet which they used in every-day life. In some cases the old forms disappeared sooner, in others later, and the natural conclusion was, as it is always in such struggles, that the antique types went out altogether.

The correctness of this view is supported by the analogies observable in the history of writing among most other nations, and by a not inconsiderable number of phenomena in Indian inscriptions which are inexplicable on the supposition that the epigraphic characters kept pace with the literary ones. Whether we turn to the Greek, the Roman, or the Semitic alphabets, or even to those of our own times, the tendency to use archaic characters and forms for epigraphic documents is everywhere apparent, and in no case is it possible to trace the development of the literary alphabets with the help of the epigraphic characters. As the discoveries of papyri made of late years in Egypt show, even the ancient Greeks as well as the Arabs possessed already in very early times fully developed literary alphabets which differed considerably from those used in their inscriptions. As regards the facts in Indian inscriptions which bear on this point, they fall chiefly under three heads,—the occasional use of modern-looking characters for the signatures or attestations in royal grants, the main portion of which is written in an archaic alphabet; the occasional occurrence of a mixture of alphabets in one and the same inscription; and of retrograde steps in one and the same series of documents. The modern-looking signatures occur first on the Gur*g*ara grants, some of which have been mentioned above[1], viz. on the plates of Dadda Pra*s*ântarâga, dated (*S*aka)-Sa*m*vat 380 (458–9 A. D.), (*S*aka)-Sa*m*vat 385 (463–4 A. D.), *S*akasa*m*vat 400 (478–9 A. D.), *S*akasa*m*vat 415 (493 A. D.), as well as in those of *G*ayabha*t*a, dated Sa*m*vat 456 (706 A. D.) and Sa*m*vat 486 (736 A. D.). The letters obtainable from the third and fourth grants have been given in table vi, col. viii. The first (where, as well as in the second, the attestations show a mixture of modern-looking and archaic characters) furnishes likewise the H. P. form of ka[2], and the sixth yields forms of *g*a and bha which exactly agree with those of Sâ[3].

[1] See p. 72, and note 5.

[2] The first alone has it in the word dinakara, while the second shows the ancient dagger-shaped letter.

[3] See Fleet and Burgess, Old Pali, Sanskrit and Kanarese Inscriptions, plate 272.

The same practice is observable in the grant of the Râshtrakûta king Govinda IV of Broach[1], dated Sakasamvat 749 (827–8 A.D.), where the attestation exhibits characters closely resembling those of Sâ., while the grant itself is written in an alphabet similar to that of Dadda Prasântarâga's plates. A mixed alphabet, or rather a sporadic occurrence of modern-looking signs among archaic ones, is found, as I have pointed out, Ind. Ant. IX, 62, in the third grant of Dadda Prasântarâga, where in the first line the word vâsakât looks like nâsakât, owing to the employment of the cursive va instead of the archaic triangle. The same peculiarity is observable on the fourth unpublished grant from Bagumrâ, but the fifth (Ind. Ant. XIII, 116) has according to the facsimile a real na, quite different from the character on the two earlier documents. On a re-examination of the three inscriptions I find still another trace of the influence of the literary alphabet in the formation of the letter ka, which, here and there, shows the prolonged right-hand down-stroke, while in other respects it resembles the form of Gu. Ku. A second case of the sporadic introduction of advanced forms among archaic ones occurs in the grant of Sîlâditya II, dated Sam. 252, where the H. P. form of ka and the Devanâgarî va appear several times, though mostly the ancient letters are used[2]. A third case, which belongs to much later times, has been pointed out in the remarks on the grant of Bhîmadeva of Anhilvâd, dated Vikramasamvat 1086 (1029–30 A.D.[3]). It is of particular significance, because the Gaina palm-leaf MSS. of the same or even somewhat earlier times show their peculiar Devanâgarî letters without any change.

The retrograde steps which sometimes are observable in one and the same series of documents are best illustrated by the inscriptions of the Râshtrakûtas, found in the Marâthâ country and in Gugarat. The earliest of the series are the Sâmangadh plates of Dantidurga from the neighbourhood of Kolhâpur, dated Sakasamvat 675 (753–4 A.D.), the characters of which closely resemble the modern Devanâgarî (plate vi, col. vii). Next comes a grant of one Kakka, evidently the scion of

[1] Indian Antiquary, V, 113, and Fleet and Burgess loc. cit., plate 282 (3). In the grant of Govinda's elder brother, Karka, dated Sakasamvat 734 (812–3 A.D.), the sign manual shows the same letters as the remainder of the document.

[2] Ind. Ant. XI, 305.

[3] Ind. Ant. VI, 193 note.

a branch of the family settled in Southern Gugarat, which is dated Sakasamvat 679 (757–8 A.D.), and exhibits archaic characters of the type which the kings of Valabhî used after Sam. 300 of the era of their plates[1]. To the same period belongs the Dasâvatâra fragment, written in the alphabet of H. P. Then we have two grants of Govinda III, the son of Dantidurga's cousin, both dated in Sakasamvat 730 (808–9 A.D.), and showing an alphabet very similar to that of Dantidurga's grant, but in some respects slightly more archaic[2]. These are followed by the Baroda plates of Karka II, dated Sakasamvat 734 (812–3 A.D.), and the Kâvî plates of Govinda IV, dated Sakasamvat 749 (827–8 A.D.), both with archaic letters, resembling those of the Gurgara and Valabhî sâsanas. All the following documents, the earliest of which is an unpublished grant of Dhruva II of Broach, dated Sakasamvat 757 or 835 A.D., while the oldest published is the Bagumrâ grant of Dhruva III of Broach, dated Sakasamvat 789 (June 6, 867 A.D.)[3], again show an alphabet still more closely allied to the modern Devanâgarî than that of the grants of Dantidurga and of Govinda III. The backward and forward jumps are in this case so enormous, that even the warmest advocate of the theory which evolves the literary from the epigraphic alphabets must become puzzled (see Burnell, Elem. S. Ind. Pal. p. 54, note 3).

The bearing of these three sets of facts is plain. They clearly illustrate the truth of the maxim that the inscriptions are not safe guides for the investigation of the history of the Indian alphabet, but that in the development of the letters they lag behind the literary documents.

Another result deducible from the analysis of the H. P. alphabet is, that it is probably more ancient than the precursor of the modern Devanâgarî, found in U. B. and Sâ., though the former documents date a little earlier than the H. P. palm-leaves. The reason for this supposition is that U. B. and Sâ. both show characteristics belonging to the system followed in H. P., and inexplicable on the general principles prevailing in Sâ. and U. B. The triangles in the left limbs of kha, ga,

[1] Dr. Bhagvânlâl, Journ. Bomb. Br. R. As. Soc. XVI, Article viii.

[2] The Râdhanpur and the Van-Dindori plates, Ind. Ant. VI, 59, and Ind. Ant. XI, 156. The most prominent among the archaic features of these grants is that the tops of the letters are mostly left open.

[3] Ind. Ant. XII, 179.

and *s*a, the opened-up triangles in bha and sa, and the straight line to the left of the down-stroke in ra are, as has been shown above, all remnants of wedges. The employment of wedges is one of the principles regulating the letters of H. P., but they are meaningless in an alphabet like that of U. B.—Sâ., which in general employs only straight or curved lines. If we, therefore, find in U. B.—Sâ. forms which are based on the principles prevailing in the H. P., the inevitable inference is that U. B.—Sâ. has been modified by the influence of H. P. This conclusion is, of course, of great importance for the determination of the age of the alphabet with the wedges. As U. B. belongs to the end of the fifth century, it seems not unreasonable to assume that the H. P. characters existed in the fourth century, and perhaps earlier. How far they go back must for the present be left undetermined. But I believe that a fuller investigation of the inscriptions of the Gupta kings, which will only be possible when Mr. Fleet's exact facsimiles have been published, will make its existence during the reign of that dynasty very probable.

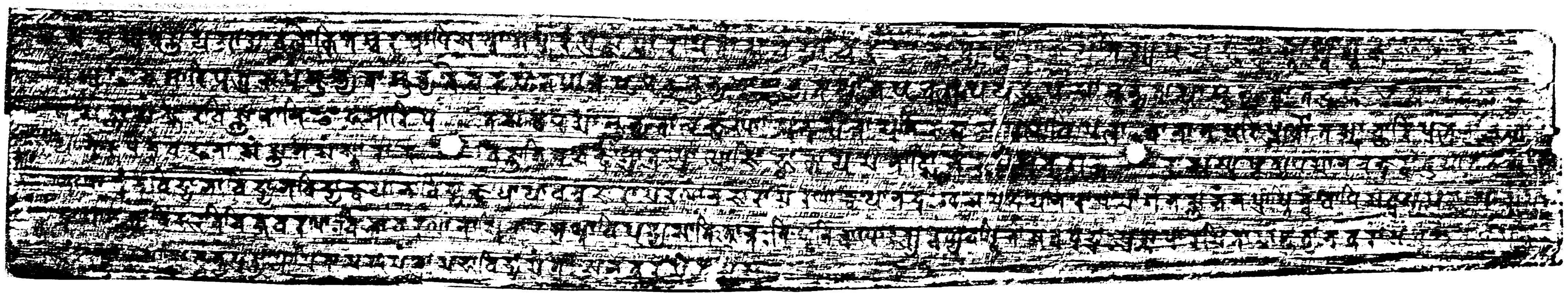
These remarks will, I hope, suffice to show that the discovery of the Horiu*z*i palm-leaves is, indeed, an event of the highest importance for the Indian palaeographist. I am persuaded that this importance will be brought out still more clearly, when, in a general survey of the history of the Indian alphabets, the principles adopted above have been fully worked out and applied also to the writing of Southern India, and if it is shown that in the South too the apparent gradual transformation of the epigraphic characters is not the cause of the development of the modern literary characters, but the result of their existence. The materials, requisite for such a task, are at present not at my command; and if I had them, I should be afraid of abusing the hospitality which the editor of this volume has offered me, by extending these remarks to an unreasonable length. I, however, cannot refrain from pointing out, that according to Dr. Burnell, the Southern alphabets were developed after the year 1000 A.D.[1], while two passages of Hiouen Thsang, Mémoires I, 72 and II, 119, point to the existence of separate literary alphabets in the South about the year 600 A. D. In the second passage the pilgrim says that 'the language and writing of the Dravi*d*a country are "a little"

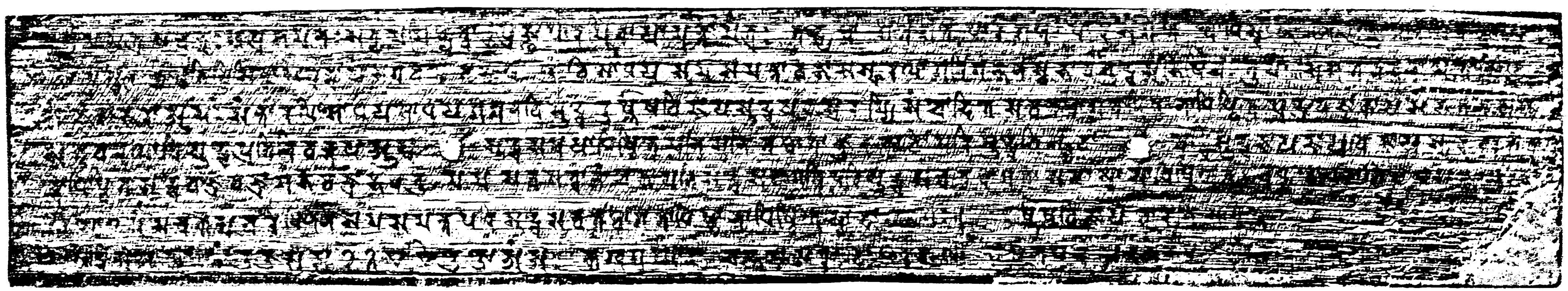
[1] Elem. S. Ind. Pal. p. 14.

different from those of Central India.' The word 'little' must here not be taken in too literal a sense, because it applies both to the language—an ancient Dravi*d*ian dialect—and to the alphabet. If the alphabet differed only half as much from those used in the North as the language must have done, it is evident that the remark cannot apply to the characters of the Pallava inscriptions, but refers to a precursor of the modern Telugu or of the Grantha. Among the Southern inscriptions those of the Râsh*t*rakû*t*a kings (see e. g. the facsimile, Ind. Ant. XI, pp. 126–27) furnish abundant proof that many of the characteristic forms of the Kânarese and Telugu alphabets existed in the eighth century. Even a lately-discovered inscription from Gu*g*arat, the above-mentioned grant of Dhruva II of Broach, shows in the attestation Kânarese letters (ka, kha, da, dha, ra) mixed with older forms.

G. BÜHLER.

No. 1.

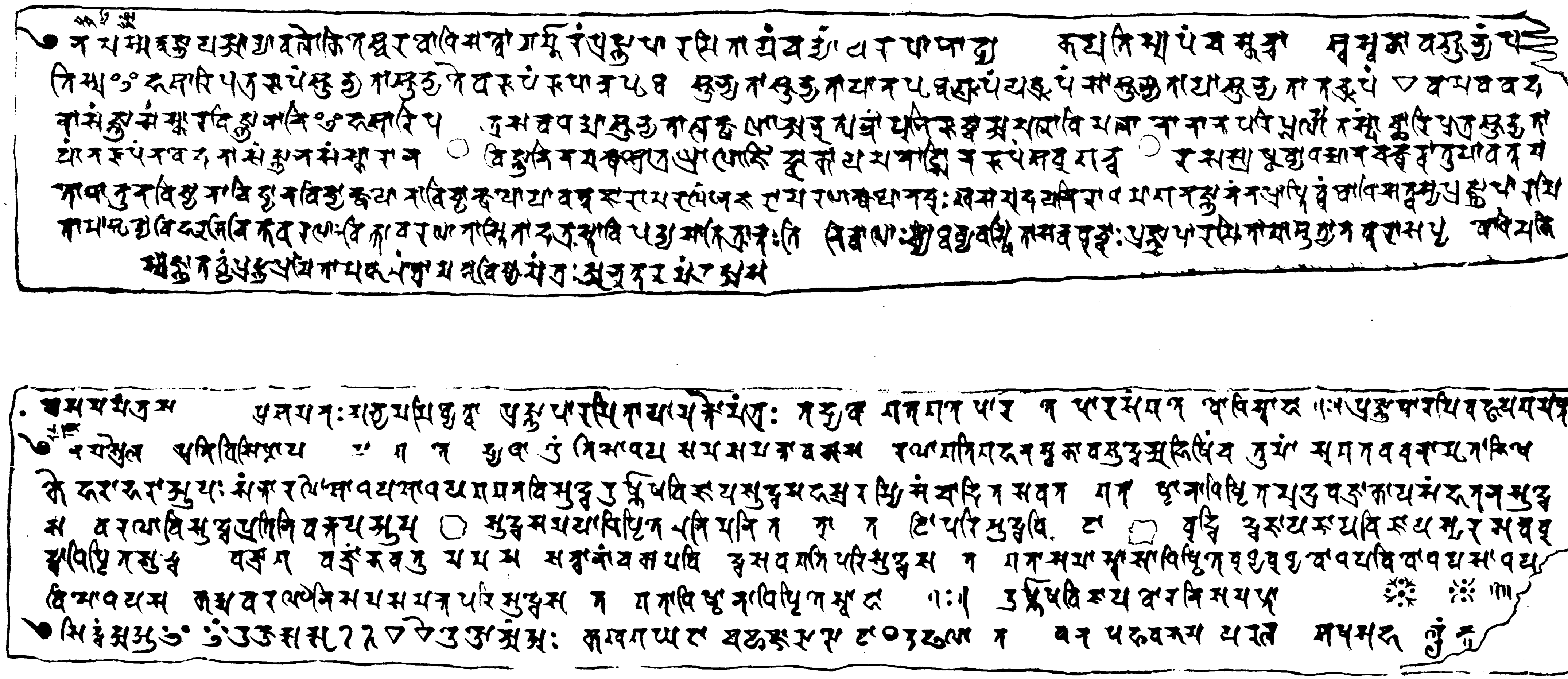




AUTOTYPE. LONDON.

ANECDOTA OXONIENSIA. ARYAN SERIES. VOL. I. PART III.
BUDDHIST TEXTS FROM JAPAN.
EDITED BY F. MAX MÜLLER.

THE TWO PALM-LEAVES, PRESERVED SINCE 609 A.D. IN THE MONASTERY HORIUZI,
PHOTOGRAPHED AT TOKIO, AND SENT TO PROFESSOR MAX MÜLLER IN 1883.

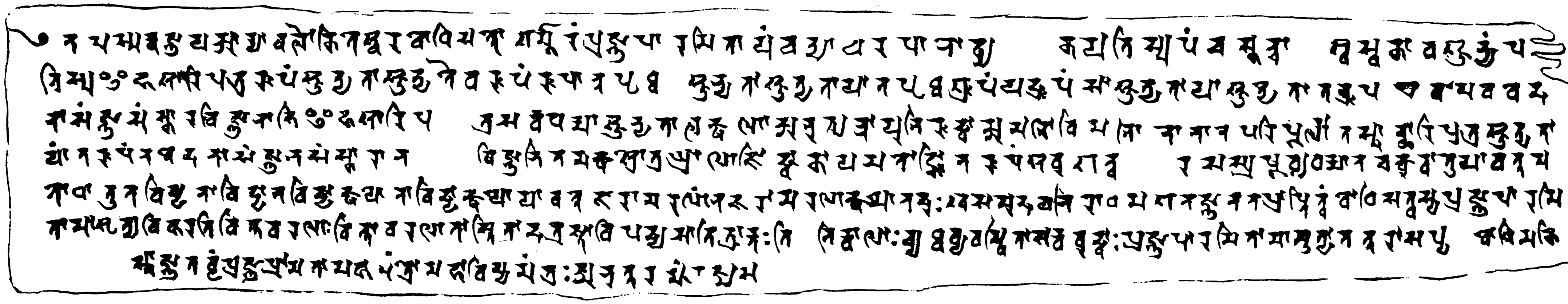


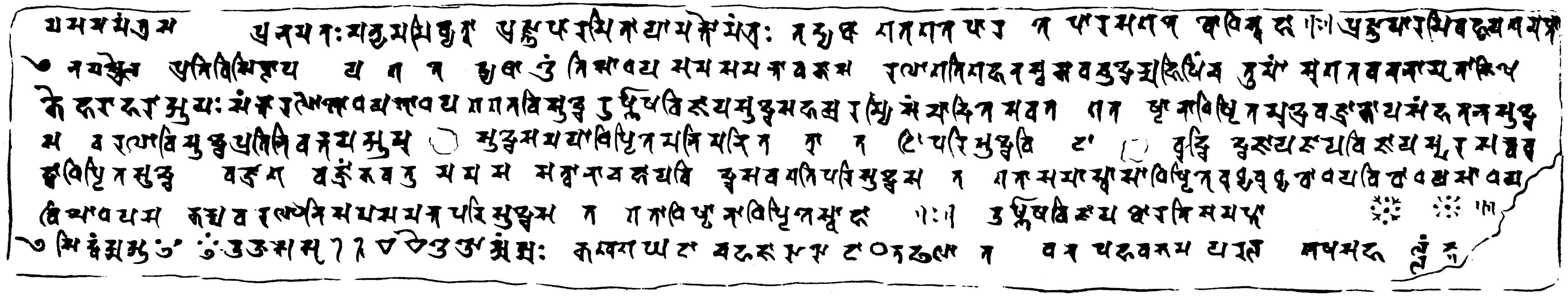
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FACSIMILE OF THE TWO PALM-LEAVES OF HORIUZI, FROM THE ASHARAGIO.

SEE CATAL. OF JAPANESE BOOKS & MSS. IN THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY; No. 46.





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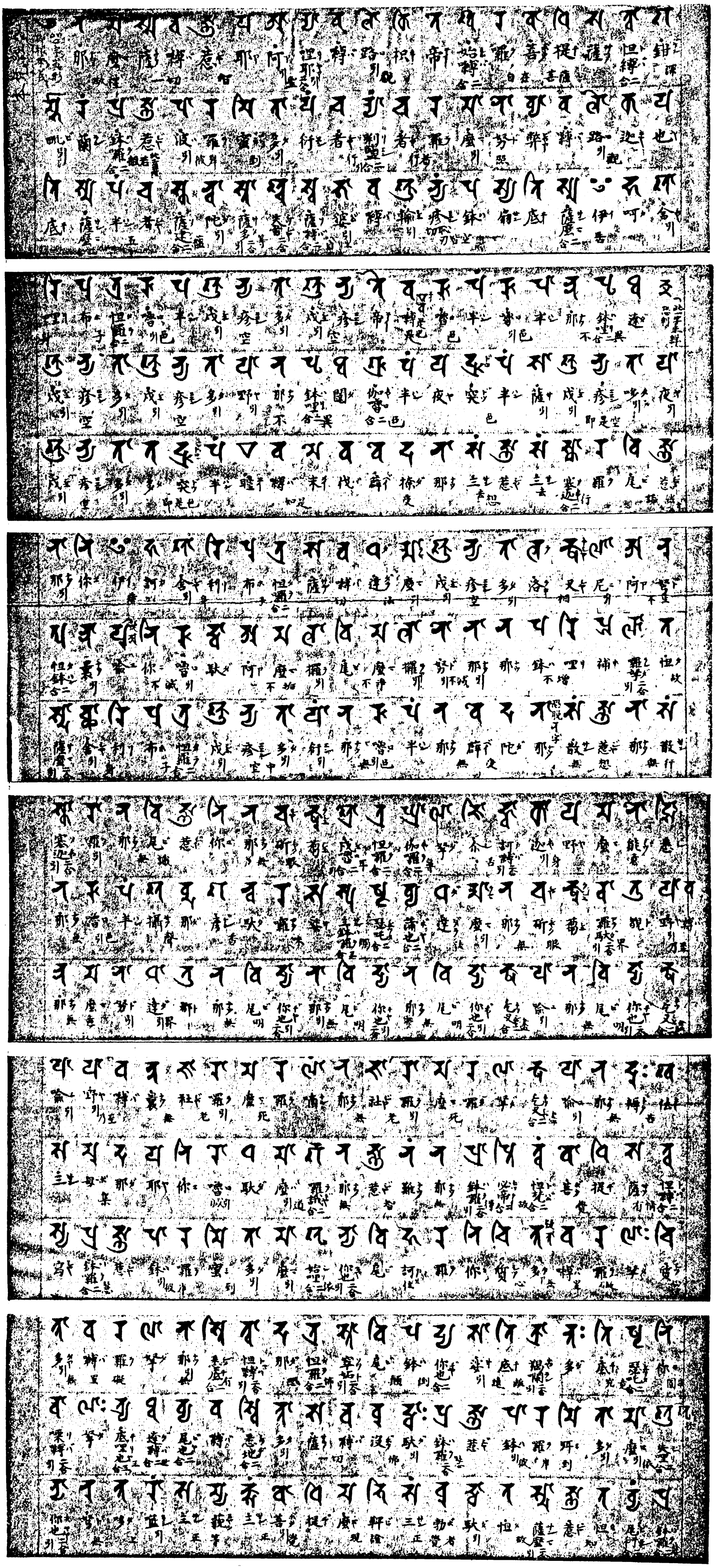
FACSIMILE OF THE TWO PALM-LEAVES OF HORIUZI, SENT TO PROFESSOR MAX MÜLLER IN 1880.

SEE CATAL. OF JAPANESE BOOKS & MSS. IN THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY; No. 45, *b*.

No. IV.

PHOTOGRAPH OF ZIOGON'S COPY OF THE OLD PALM LEAVES OF HORIUZI, DATED A.D. 1694. SENT TO PROFESSOR MAX MÜLLER IN 1883.

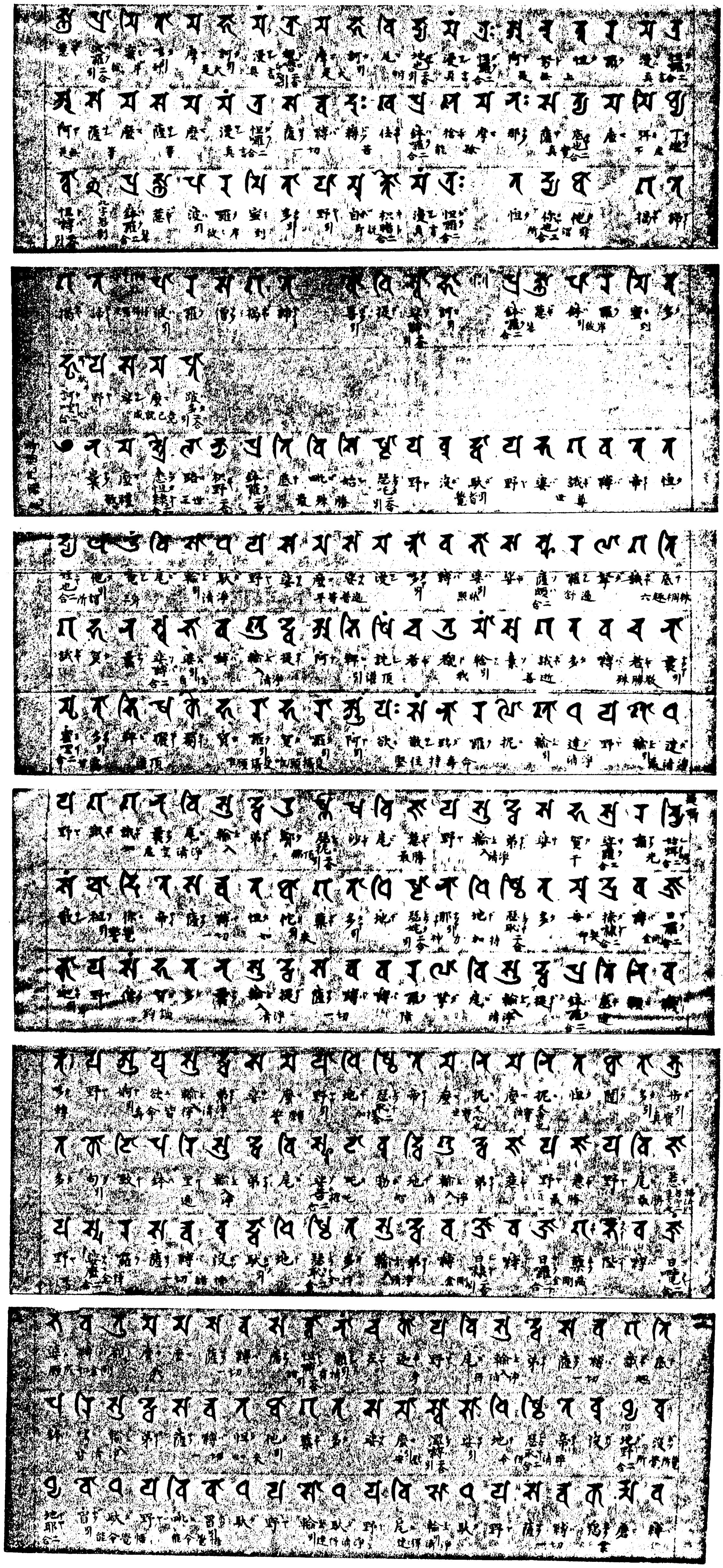
I.



No. IV.

PHOTOGRAPH OF ZIOGON'S COPY OF THE OLD PALM LEAVES OF HORIUZI, DATED A.D. 1694. SENT TO PROFESSOR MAX MÜLLER IN 1883.

II.



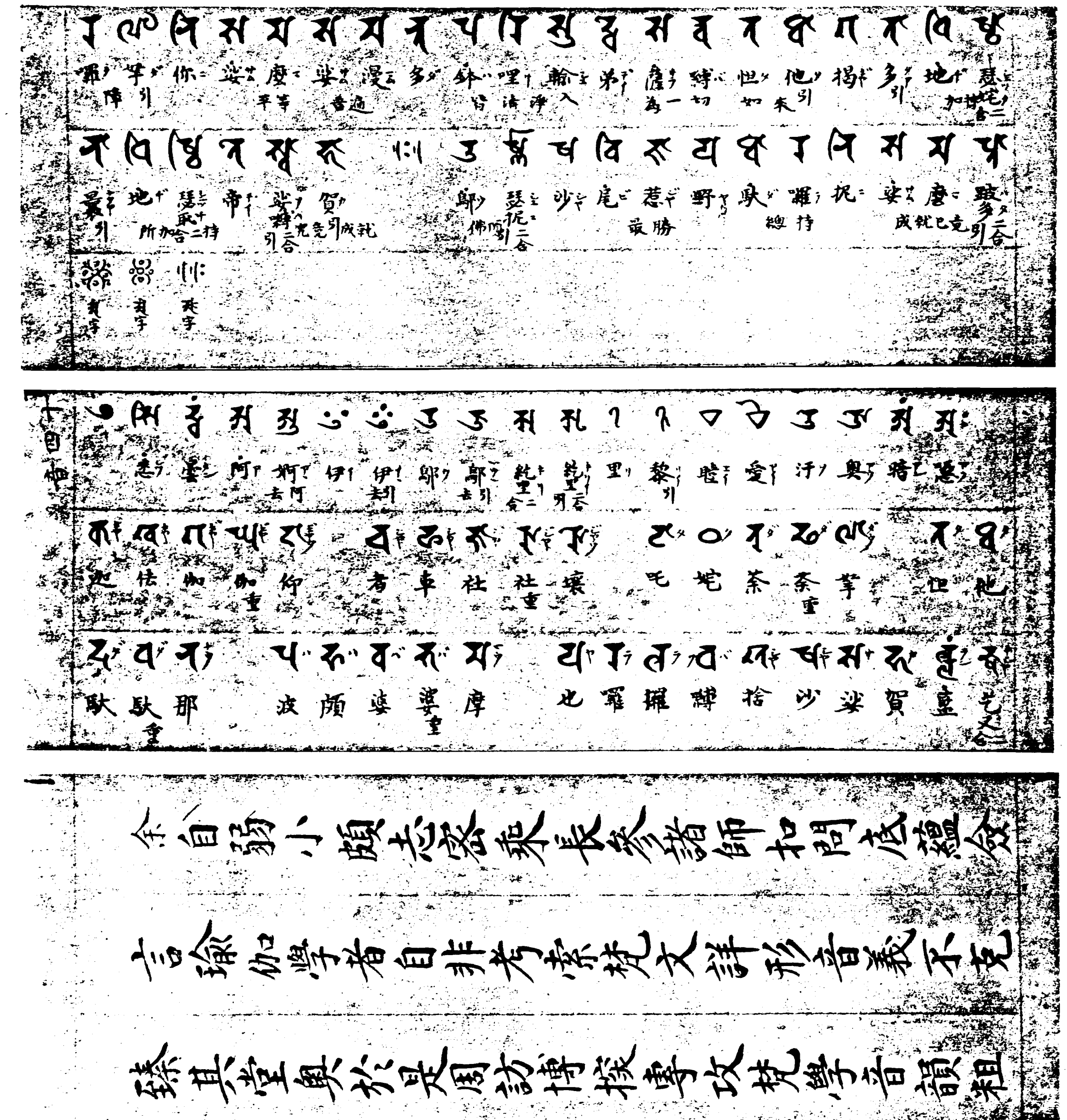
ANECDOTA OXONIENSIA, ARYAN SERIES, VOL. I, PART III.
BUDDHIST TEXTS FROM JAPAN.
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No. IV.

HOTOGRAPH OF ZIOGON'S COPY OF THE OLD PALM LEAVES OF HORIUZI, DATED A.D. 169

SENT TO PROFESSOR MAX MÜLLER IN 1883.

III.



AUTOTYPE, LONDON.

IMPRESSION OF A STONE TABLET IN THE ASAKUSA TEMPLE AT YEDO; SENT TO PROFESSOR MAX MÜLLER BY MR. A. WYLIE, IN 1882.

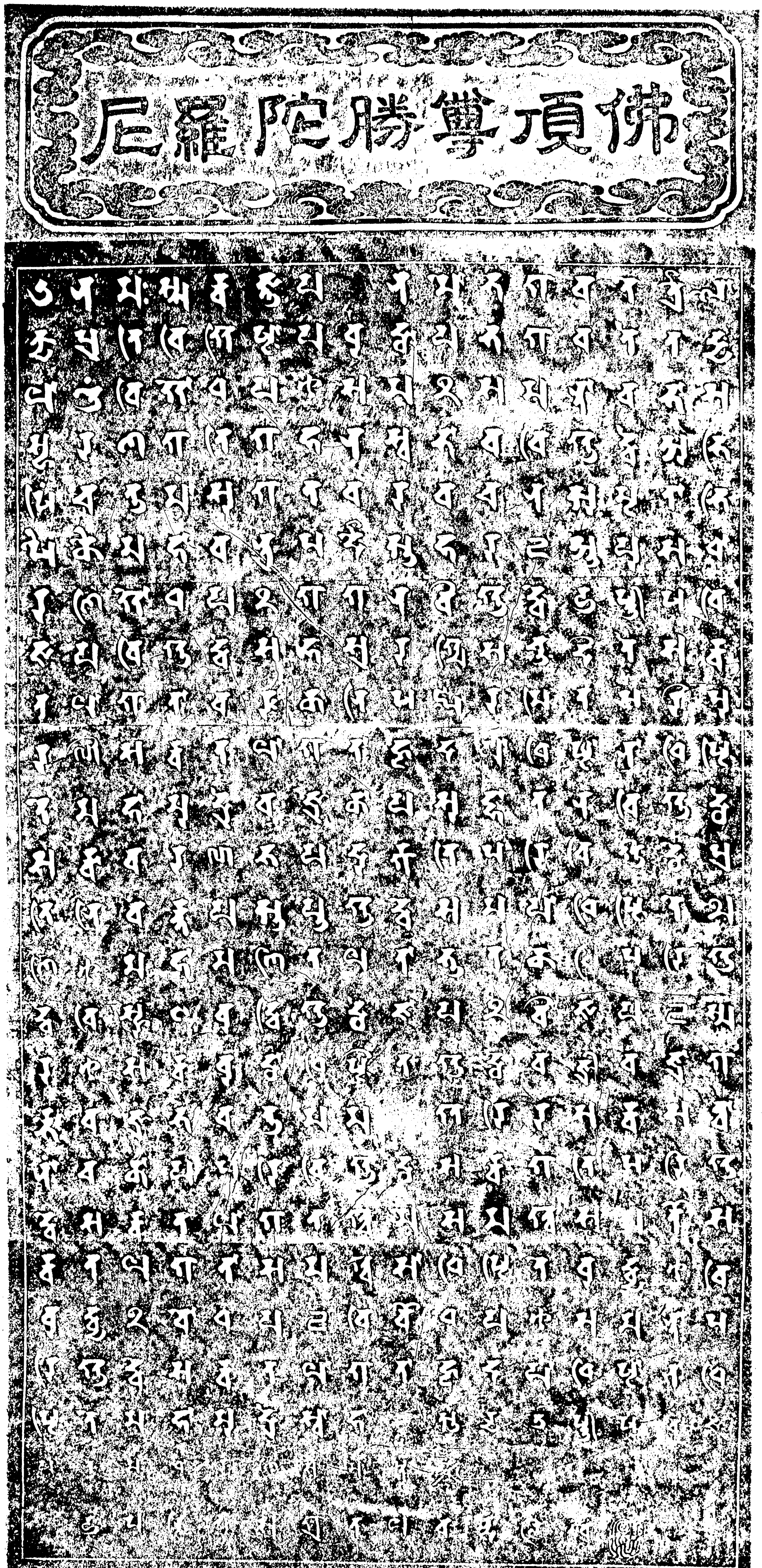
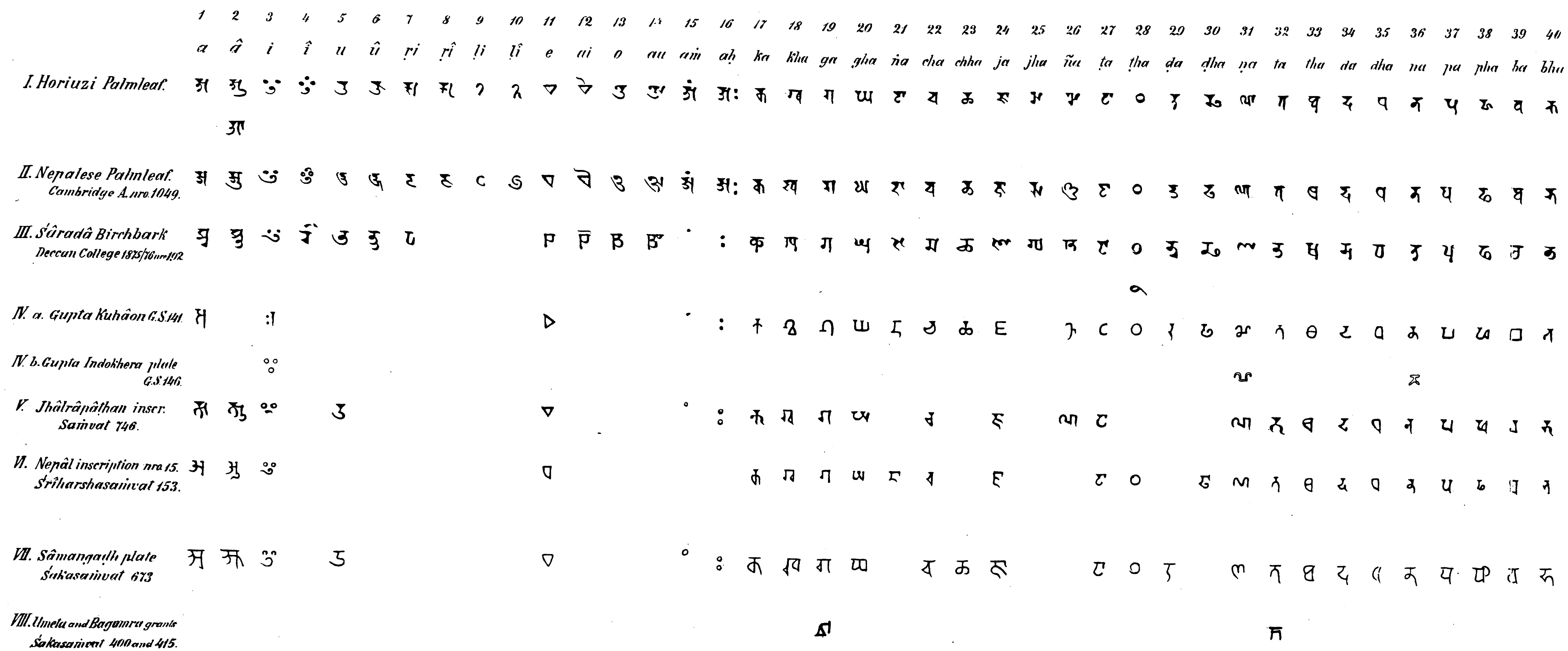


TABLE OF ALPHABET.

No. VI.



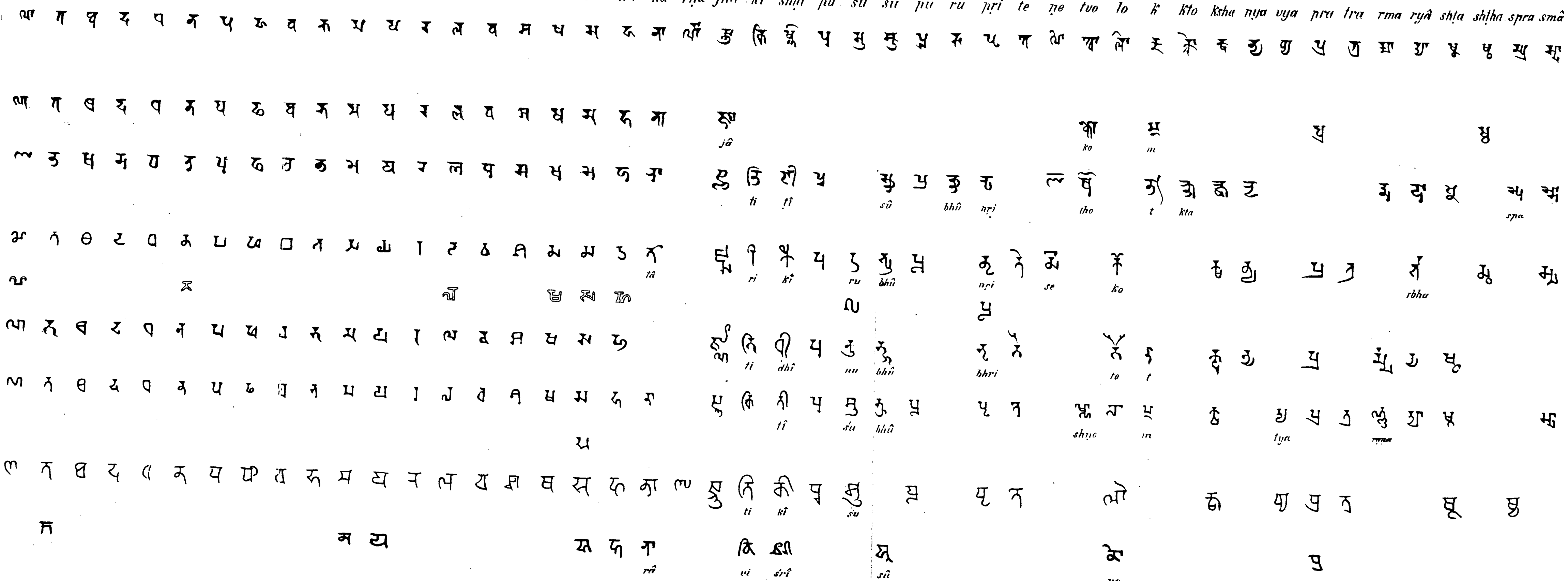
PHOTOLITHOGRAPH BY MAX JAFFE, VIENNA.

TABLE OF ALPHABETS.

No. VI.

31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54
ṇa	*ta*	*tha*	*da*	*dha*	*na*	*pa*	*pha*	*ba*	*bha*	*ma*	*ya*	*ra*	*la*	*va*	*śa*	*sha*	*sa*	*ha*	*nâ*	*rṇâ*	*jñâ*	*ki*	*shṭî*

55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77
pu	*su*	*śû*	*pû*	*rû*	*pṛi*	*te*	*ṇe*	*tvo*	*lo*	*k*	*kto*	*ksha*	*nya*	*vya*	*pra*	*tra*	*rma*	*ryâ*	*shṭa*	*shṭha*	*spra*	*smâ*



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